

ISSN 0038-0903

SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 14 2000



SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 14 2000

CONTENTS

<i>Alexander Gorfunkel</i> , The Oxford Bibliographies of Russian Bibliographers: John Simmons's <i>Pamiatki</i> and the 4Cs Club	page 5
<i>Paul McQuail</i> , Soviet Children's Books of the Twenties and Thirties: The Adler Collection	13
<i>M. Z. Zelenov</i> , The Library Purges of 1932–1937 in Soviet Russia	42
<i>Mark Kulikowski</i> , Russian Emigré Bibliography: Another Look	58
<i>Anna-Nataliia Malakhovskaia</i> , O Zarozhdenii russkogo feministicheskogo al'manakha 'Zhenshchina i Rossiia' (Interv'iu s Mariei Zav'ialovoi) (with Appendix: Background and Postscript by <i>Elizabeth Waters</i>)	68
<i>Aaron Trehub</i> , Slavic Studies and Slavic Librarianship in the United States: A Post-Cold War Perspective	91

Reviews

Beth Holmgren, <i>Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland</i> (Stephen D. Corrsin)	109
<i>Russian and Ukrainian Avant-Garde and Constructivist Books and Serials in the New York Public Library: A First Census and Listing of Artists Represented</i> , comp. Robert H. Davis, Jr. and Margaret Sandler (Carol Adlam)	110
Stephen Lovell, <i>The Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras</i> (Jeffrey Brooks)	112
Jeffrey Brooks, <i>Thank You, Comrade Stalin!: Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War</i> (Stephen Lovell)	114
<i>Publichnaia biblioteka glazami sovremennikov 1795–1817. Khrestomatiia, sostavlenie i podgotovka tekstov</i> Ts. I. Grin i A. M. Tret'iak (George Morris)	117
<i>Czech Republic</i> , comp. Vlad'ka Edmondson with David Short (Tom Stableford)	119
Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, <i>Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift</i> , Bd. III: <i>Die Prager Druckerei von Francisk Skorina</i> ; Bd. V: <i>Die Druckerei von Francisk Skorina in Wilna</i> (Christine Thomas)	121

Contributors	124
--------------	-----

P137923

Solanus is published by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES),
University College London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU

© SSEES 2000

The views expressed in *Solanus* are not necessarily those of SSEES
or of the Editorial Board

Price of this volume: £10.00 or \$15 U.S., including postage. Sterling payment should be sent to the editor (address below) by cheque or international money order made payable to SOLANUS. Dollar payment (personal subscriptions only) (cheque made payable to Wojciech Zalewski) should be sent to: Wojciech Zalewski, 162 Highland Ave., San Carlos, CA 94070, U.S.A.

For more information about *Solanus*, see:

<http://www.ssees.ac.uk/solanus/solacont.htm>

All correspondence, including subscription and advertising enquiries, should be addressed to the Editor:

Dr Christine Thomas
Slavonic and East European Collections
The British Library, 96 Euston Road
London NW1 2DB, United Kingdom
Telephone: 020 7412 7587
Fax: 020 7412 7554
E-mail: chris.thomas@bl.uk

The Editor will supply *Notes for Contributors* and *Notes for Reviewers* on request.

Typeset in Plantin and Times Cyrillic at Oxford University Computing Services
by Stephen Ashworth Typesetting, Oxford

Cover motif: Detail from illustration in *Park kul'tury i otdykha* (Moscow, 1930)
by V. Alfeevskii and T. Lebedeva

Editorial Board

Professor C. L. Drage, Imperial College, University of London

Mr W. Gareth Jones, University College of North Wales, Bangor

Ms Ursula Phillips, Library, School of Slavonic and East European Studies,
University College London

Dr W. F. Ryan, The Warburg Institute, University of London

Mr Ray Scrivens, Cambridge University Library, *Reviews Editor*

Dr Kate Sealey-Rahman, The British Library

Dr Christine Thomas, The British Library, *Editor*

Dr Gregory Walker, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

International Advisory Panel

Dr J. J. Brine, Lancaster

Professor W. E. Butler, University College London

The Very Rev. Alexander Nadson, Francis Skaryna Belarusian Library,
London

John S. G. Simmons, Emeritus Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford

Dr Miranda Beaven Remnek, Wilson Library, University of Minnesota

Professor Jeffrey Brooks, John Hopkins University, Baltimore

Professor Marianna Tax Choldin, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

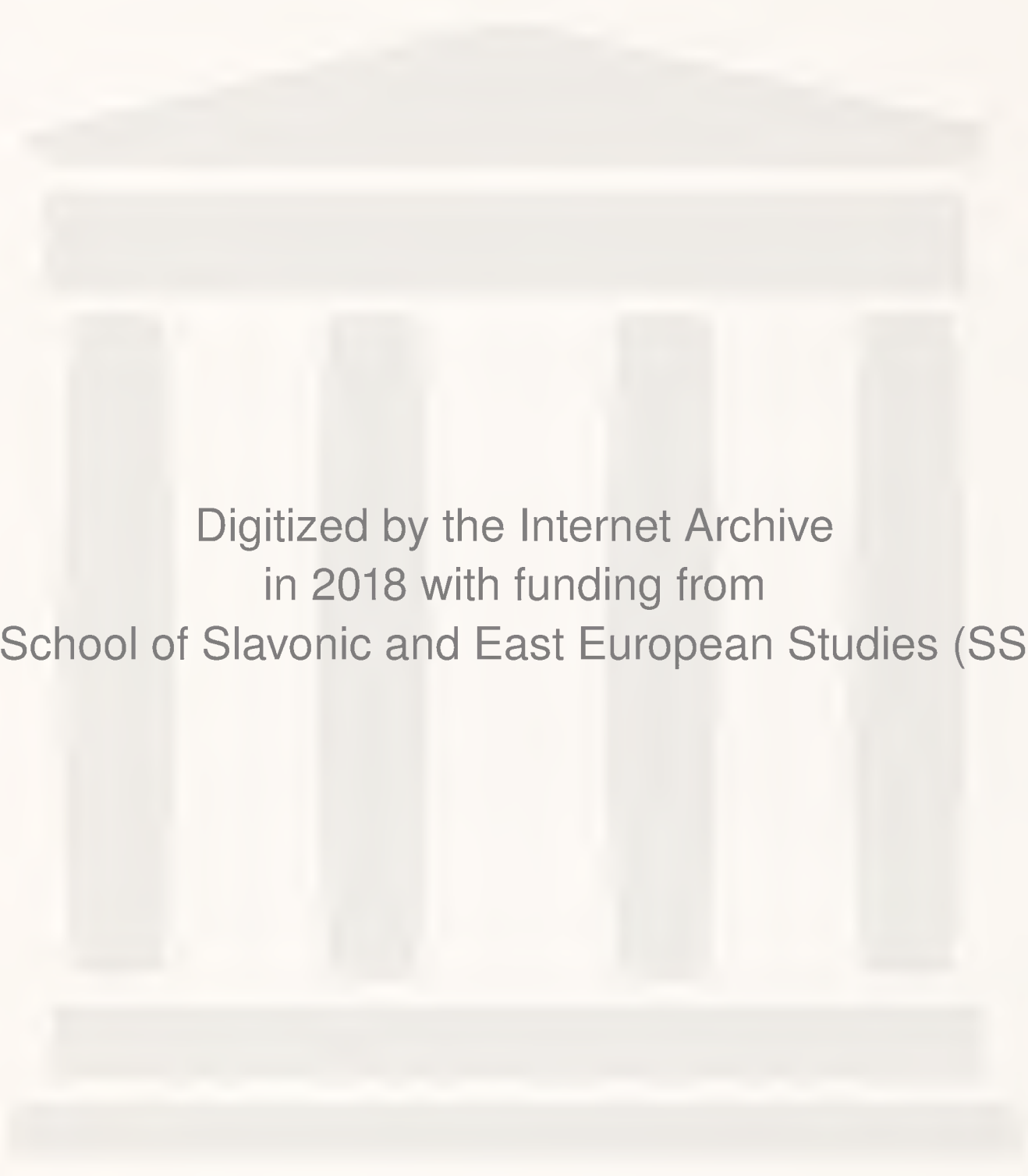
Edward Kasinec, Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library

Professor Gary Marker, University of New York at Stony Brook

Dr Wojciech Zalewski, Stanford University Libraries

Dr Françoise de Bonnières, Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris

Dr Horst Röhling, Bochum



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES)

The Oxford Bibliographies of Russian Bibliographers: John Simmons's *Pamiatki* and the 4Cs Club^{*}

Alexander Gorfunkel

The London *Times* of 1 May 1964 included an exotic contribution: a (needless to say) anonymous obituary of Antonina Sergeevna Zernova (b. 1883), one of Russia's greatest experts on the history of the old Russian printed book. Such international recognition of the Contribution made by a Russian scholar was remarkable—even the Soviet press at that time was not in the habit of carrying death-notices (let alone obituaries) of Russian bookmen (or bookwomen), no matter how distinguished their careers.

The author of the anonymous obituary was John Simmons—then a Librarian-Lecturer at Oxford—and it was followed by another by him devoted to the incunabulist (and sometime secretary of the pre-First World War symbolist publishing-house 'Musaget') Nikolai Petrovich Kiselev (27 April 1965). Other notices by him appeared in the *Book Collector* and commemorated Vladimir Sergeevich Liublinskii (1968), S. A. Klepikov (1978), and Aleksandra Dmitrievna Liublinskaia and A. I. Markushevich (the latter two in 1980).

John Simmons's attempts to Conserve the memories of Russian colleagues have not, however, been restricted to formal obituaries, and it is the purpose of this article to discuss the group of his publications which he refers to as his *pamiatki*. These are leaflets of fewer than a dozen pages, each containing brief biographical data, exiguous select bibliographies, and portraits of recently deceased Russian scholars (and one Lithuanian one) whom he has known or corresponded with. Over the last twenty years there have been eight of these modestly near-printed publications. Selection for inclusion in the series is, naturally, deeply personal, and the choice of 'obituares' bears little relation to the *nomenklatura* which governed inclusion in Soviet (and some other) reference works. Moreover, the series is hospitable: it includes not only hard-core bibliographers, bibliophiles, historians of the book and librarians, but also some historians *pur sang* (A. D. Liublinskaia and N. E. Nosov), and some literary historians (M. P. Alekseev, A. A. Anikst and S. A. Reiser), who had shown themselves by their works to be 'sound on the book'. Indeed, I well remember the stress placed on 'bibliological' aspects by A. D. Liublinskaia, both in her lectures and in her published work—an attitude paralleled by John Simmons's

^{*} An abbreviated English-language version of an article printed (in Russian) at pp. 146–55 of vyp. 7 (1998) of the Russian National Library's *Istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia*. Note that B. A. Semenovker gave an account (and bibliographical list) of the *pamiatki* up to the 1991 issue in *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1991, no. 4, pp. 108–10.

interest in the book as a physical entity and as a *Kulturträger*.

A detailed list of the *pamiatki* is printed on p. 154 of the Russian version of this article. Here we survey them briefly from the first (1975) onward. This (in Russian) described itself as an illustrated supplement to a lecture on Russian bibliography and bibliographers given at the then Royal Holloway College in London in 1974. It was devoted to five Russian scholars (P. N. Berkov, E. I. Katsprzhak, N. P. Kiselev, V. S. Liublinskii and A. S. Zernova) and was a work of piety by someone who had been privileged to know them. It included birth- and death-years, much-abbreviated lists of their publications, and striking portraits. Unlike its successors, it was in broadsheet folded double-foolscap format and had a *tirazh* of three hundred copies (subsequent issues ran to between 150 and 268 copies, of which fifty were sent to the families). From the 'second' (there was no serial numeration) *pamiatka* onwards a more or less standard title and sub-title were adopted, and the contents included a brief biographical preface, portraits with birth- and death-dates, and very selective bibliographies of the subjects' published work and 'ana'.

The second issue appeared in 1979 and was devoted to B. S. Bodnarskii, S. A. Klepikov, A. I. Markushevich and A. A. Sidorov. Two new elements make their appearance in this issue: a poem and an emblem. The latter (see Fig. 1), with its *Aliis inserviando consumor* 'impresa', was adopted as being 'the true icon of the bibliographer and librarian'. The former—a moving sonnet by Samuel Butler (1835–1902)—was printed facing a superlative Russian translation of it by Iurii Levin of the Pushkin House in St Petersburg, Honorary Doctor of Letters of the University of Oxford and Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. This poem, which precisely reflects the spirit of the *pamiatki*, is printed in both English and Russian at the end of this article.

The issue of the *pamiatki* has always been irregular and conditioned by sombre facts: the deaths of scholars whom the author regarded as his colleagues in the *opus magnum* of the advancement of learning. In 1982 the third issue appeared, devoted to T. A. Bykova, A. D. Liublinskaia, M. P. Alekseev and the Lithuanian bibliophile (and watermark expert) Edmundas Laucevičius. 1987 saw two further issues, the fourth for N. V. Varbanets and the fifth for T. N. Kameneva and N. E. Nosov. The latter issue, incidentally, carried a hint in the direction of I. N. Gilinskii (for whom biographical details were not then available) by including his initials in the standard frame surrounding the title-page of the *pamiatka* (see Fig. 3). The 1989 issue honoured A. A. Anikst and T. N. Kopreeva. G. G. Firsov, G. G. Krichevskii and S. A. Reiser were commemorated in 1991, and the last issue published to date (1994) was in French and devoted to L. L. Al'bina, custodian of Voltaire's Library in the Russian National Library and editor of his *Marginalia*.

It is well known that the castles and great houses of Britain are distinguished not only for their statutory ghosts but also for their ancestral portraits. In con-

structing the figurative (but by no means airy) castle of Russian *knigovedenie*, John Simmons has provided it with a gallery of likenesses of departed *servi* (and *servae*) *servorum libri*. The twenty-three illustrations in the series depict men and women who, irrespective of position, official title or even output, were united in their conviction that the book is humanity's hallmark (see Fig. 2). Of those memorialised, A. S. Zernova (1883–1964) and T. N. Kameneva (1909–85) in Moscow and T. A. Bykova (1909–85) in Leningrad were the 'founding mothers' of the bibliographical study of the history of the printed book in Russia from its birth-pangs in the middle of the sixteenth century down to the end of the eighteenth century. N. P. Kiselev (1884–1965) of Moscow (already mentioned as secretary of 'Musaget') established scholarly Russian incunable studies, which became the chosen field of the Leningrad librarian N. V. Varbanets (1916–87). The interests of T. N. Kopreeva (1917–88) ranged over both the Slavonic book and Polish–Russian cultural relations. V. S. Liublinskii (1903–68) established the Rare Book Department of what was then the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad, inspired and largely compiled a catalogue of its incunabula, but was also an internationally recognised Voltaire scholar. L. L. Al'bina (1929–93) was his successor in charge of Voltaire's Library.

A. A. Sidorov (1891–1978) produced major works in the fields of art history and the history of both Russian and Western-European book-illustration (including a monograph on Aubrey Beardsley). Russian paper-history, watermark studies and bookbinding history were some of the many subjects of Contributions by S. A. Klepikov (1895–1978). Equally fundamental were those of E. Laucevičius (1906–73), Lithuanian ambassador in London from 1935 to 1940, in his native Lithuanian (and Polish) fields of watermark and silver history. Generations of Russian students benefited from the sound textbooks of printing history compiled by E. I. Katsprzhak (1893–1972), the wife of N. P. Kiselev and his sometime colleague at the Lenin Library; and B. S. Bodnarskii (1874–1965) made a personal contribution to Russian national bibliography in the first quarter of the twentieth century that is simply unrivalled. G. G. Firsov (1902–90), the amiable doyen of the Leningrad Institute of Culture, was an expert on librarianship and library history, and G. G. Krichevskii (1910–89) was an outstanding bibliographer and the compiler of a bibliography of pre-1917 Russian university dissertations which (it is believed) shamefully remains unpublished.

The mathematician A. I. Markushevich (1908–79), a profound bibliophile whose astonishing personal library (including many incunabula) is now in the Russian State Library in Moscow, was the author of a number of solid contributions to the history of the scientific book. P. N. Berkov (1896–1969) was a learned historian of Russian literature and journalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and compiled bibliographies of Pushkiniana and of

Alexander Herzen's Russian Free Press in London (1853–65). He also published a brilliant little treatise on the theory and practice of the bibliographical search and pioneer studies in the history of Russian and Soviet bibliophily.

M. P. Alekseev (1896–1981) was a master of both the Russian and the Western-European literary traditions, whose studies in the field of Anglo-Russian literary relations earned him an Oxford honorary doctorate and the Corresponding Fellowship of the British Academy. A. A. Anikst (1910–88) was an outstanding Shakespeare (and Goethe) scholar who regarded bibliography as the bedrock of his researches—and was not averse to cheerfulness breaking in. I. N. Gilinskii, a devoted language teacher at the Leningrad Institute of Culture, has a deserved place in the series as a passionate 'man of the book' in the sense that he had an insatiable and unbounded appetite for English literature which extended not only to Mrs Felicia Hemans but to all ten volumes of Lockhart's *Life* of Sir Walter Scott. S. A. Reiser (1905–89), also of Leningrad, was a literary historian, editor of a number of nineteenth-century Russian classics, and the author of textological and modern palaeographical works.

N. E. Nosov (1924–85) was a distinguished historian of sixteenth-century Russia and author of a number of works concerned with historiography and historical source materials. A. D. Liublinskaia (1902–80) was the wife of the Voltaire scholar V. S. Liublinskii and had been a pupil of Ol'ga Antonovna Dobiash-Rozhdestvenskaia (1874–1939), Russia's outstanding expert on early Western palaeography. She maintained her tradition and was the honoured teacher of generations of students occupied with French history, Western palaeography and the history of the manuscript book.

★ ★ ★

A new element makes its début in the 1988 *pamiatka*: a symbol consisting of four interlaced Cs (see below). This was connected with the establishment in 1985 of the 4Cs Club—an invisible society of Slavists (and others) concerned with the history of the printed book and the arts and crafts involved in its production, dissemination and conservation. A 'serio-comic affair' (in the words of John Simmons, its 'Founder-Despot'), the *orden galstukonostsev* was distinguished by its insignia (which incorporated the 4Cs emblem) and the attachment of its wearers to the Four Categoricals, i.e. Conserve · Consider · Contribute · Cooperate, or, in Iurii Levin's Russian equivalents, Сохранять · Соображать · Содействовать · Сотрудничать. The 'Order' is a loose-knit society, its members are not troubled with subscriptions, meetings or duties, and its single officer is its Founder-Despot (and 'Membership Secretary') who marks the adhesion of new members by the surprise gift of a tie (a brooch for lady members) bearing the Club insignia together with the suggestion that it be worn on New Year's Day, All Fools Day and on other suitable book-

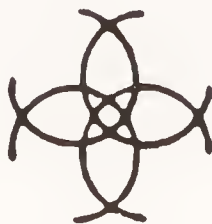
ish occasions. The Founder-Despot expressed the hope that after glasnost his unexpected and semi-lighthearted approach and gift would not cause embarrassment or alarm to his East-European and Soviet colleagues, but might give innocent pleasure to a number of 'decent citizens' (*poriadochnye liudi*).

During the decade since its foundation the Order has grown to some two hundred members living in nineteen countries—apart from Great Britain, in Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, the U.S.A. and, of course, Russia and the previously Soviet republics of Georgia, Lithuania and Ukraine.

In Pushkin's words, Сказка ложь да в ней намек ('the tale may be fantasy but truth lies hid in it'). In my view, in John Simmons's serio-comic extravaganza lies hid an attempt to hint at the humane bases and values of European culture, so cruelly and systematically under attack during our totalitarian century. What is in his mind is a revival of the *respublica litterarum*—an open society of men and women, colleagues in the great affair of the advancement of European learning in the spirit of the early Renaissance as exemplified in the letters of Petrarch and in the Contributions of his successors. In strengthening his (almost) invisible society, we hope that we may be worthy successors to our predecessors and teachers—including those he has memorialised in his *pamiatki*—themselves, true exponents of the 4Cs.

CONSERVE · CONSIDER · CONTRIBUTE · COOPERATE

Сохранять · Соображать · Содействовать · Сотрудничать



Not on sad Stygian shore, nor in clear sheen
 Of far Elysian plain, shall we meet those
 Among the dead whose pupils we have been,
 Nor those great shades whom we have held as foes;
 No meadow of asphodel our feet shall tread,
 Nor shall we look each other in the face
 To love or hate each other, being dead,
 Hoping some praise, or fearing some disgrace.
 We shall not argue saying 'Twas thus' or 'Thus',
 Our argument's whole drift we shall forget;
 Who's right, who's wrong, 'twill be all one to us;
 We shall not even know that we have met.

Yet meet we shall, and part, and meet again,
 Where dead men meet, on lips of living men.



Figure 1: From *Gabrielis Rollenhagii Selectorum Emblematum Centuria Secunda* (Ultraiecti, 1613), No. 31 (diameter of original: 88 mm)

Не средь теней Стигийской скорбной тьмы
И не в сиянье Елисейской дали
Наставников ушедших встретим мы
Иль тех, кого врагами почитали.
Нет, нам меж асфоделей не бродить,
В лицо друг друга больше не увидеть,
И незачем хвалить или хулить,
Любить за гробом или ненавидеть.
'Так' или 'Не так' — доспорить не дано;
Все доводы свои мы позабудем.
Кто прав, неправ — нам станет все равно,
И даже, встретясь, знать о том не будем.
И все же встречи ожидают нас;
В устах живых мы встретимся не раз.

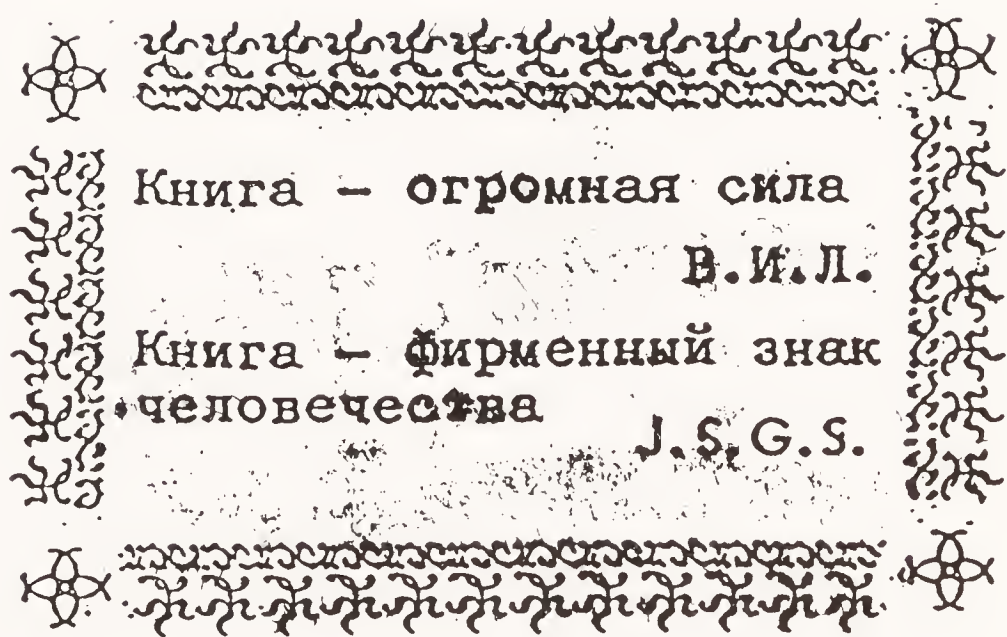


Figure 2

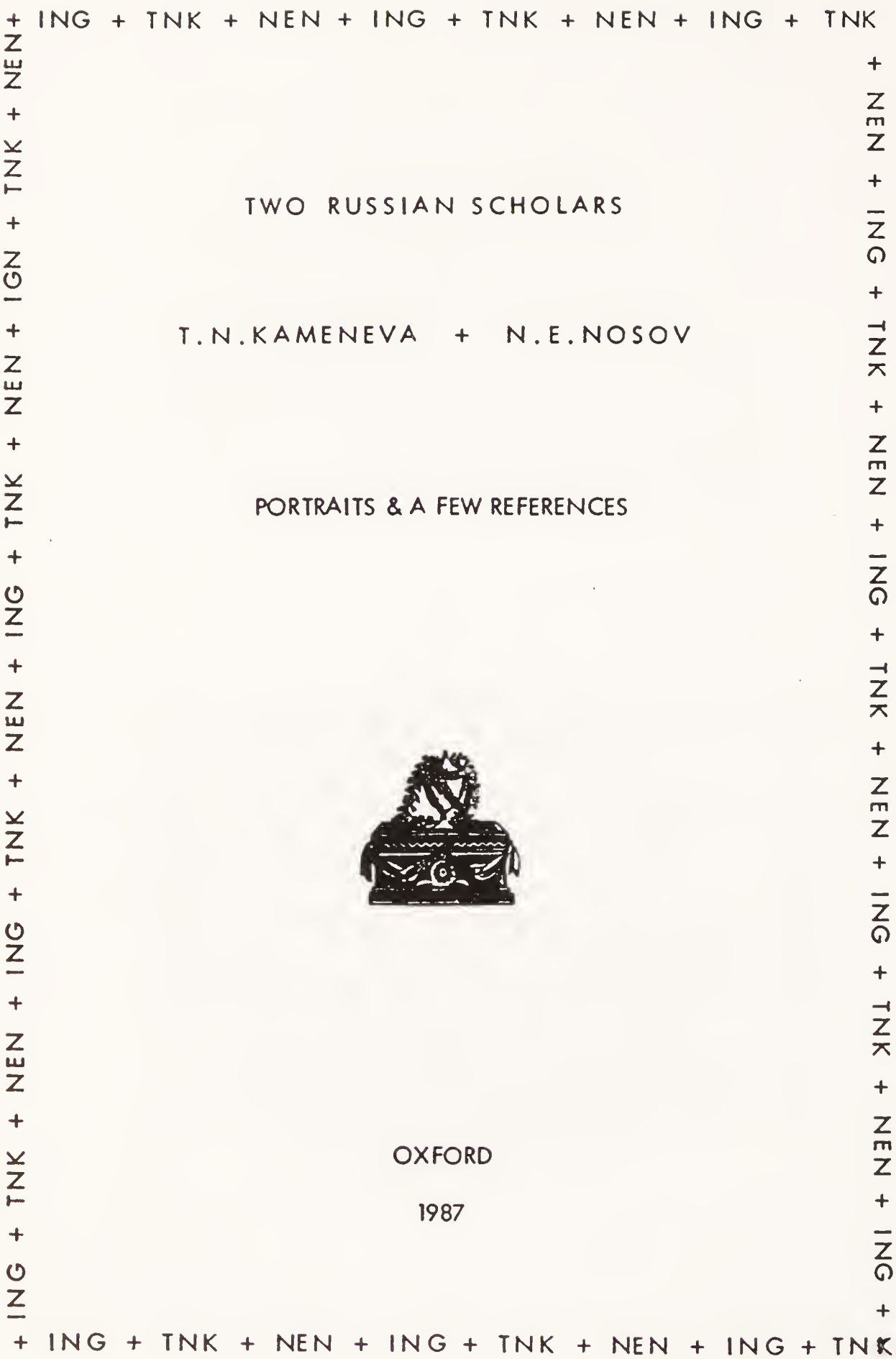


Figure 3 (original size: 203×134 mm)

Soviet Children's Books of the Twenties and Thirties: The Adler Collection

Paul McQuail

'Je terminerai en affirmant, sereine et ravie, que le livre russe pour enfants est le meilleur livre pour enfants—du monde.'

Marina Tsvetaeva, 1931

The remarkable illustrated children's books of the 1920s and 1930s are beginning to receive the interest in the West that they deserve. They were the subject of an extremely well-documented exhibition in Paris in 1997,¹ followed by a study day,² and formed an important part of an exhibition of Russian graphic arts at Rutgers University in 1999.³ Most recently published is Evgeny Steiner's *Stories for Little Comrades*, a polemical but very thoroughly researched and profusely illustrated book on the children's literature of the twenties.⁴ An excellent Russian publication, extensively illustrated in colour, Iurii Molok's *Staraia detskaia knizhka 1900–1930* lists the works in the large collection of Professor Mark Rats—almost 500 titles from 1921 to 1940.⁵

This article describes a collection of 257 children's books, mostly published in the years 1930–32, which were brought home from the Soviet Union to Germany in 1932 by my wife Susan's parents, Hans and Hedwig Adler. They were in the Soviet Union as members of a team, under the leadership of Ernst May, recruited by the Soviet government to assist with the planning and construction of major projects including Magnitogorsk. May had built his reputation as City Planner and Director of Housing at Frankfurt. The work, and the frustrations, of the May enterprise is a fascinating story in its own right.⁶ The Adlers spent much of their time at Dyushambe in Tadzhikistan, but none

¹ See Serge Plantureux and Françoise Lévêque, *Livres d'enfants russes et soviétiques (1917–1945) dans les collections de l'Heure Joyeuse et d'autres bibliothèques françaises: catalogue en forme de Dictionnaire des illustrateurs de livres d'enfants russes 1917–1945* (Paris, Bibliothèque l'Heure Joyeuse, 1997).

² *Livres illustrés russes et soviétiques pour enfants 1917–1945* (Paris, Bibliothèque l'Heure Joyeuse, 1999).

³ See *Defining Russian Graphic Arts from Diaghilev to Stalin 1898–1934*, editor Alla Rosenfeld (New Brunswick, N.J. and London, Rutgers University Press and Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers N.J., 1999).

⁴ Evgeny Steiner, *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Writers and Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books*, translated from the Russian by Jane Ann Miller (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1999).

⁵ Iurii Molok, *Staraia detskaia kniga* (Moscow, 1997).

⁶ Fritz Jaspert, *die architektengruppe 'may' in russland* (Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau und Landesplanung, Landesgruppe Nordrhein-Westfalen, 1978).

of the books were published there and they were probably bought in Moscow. Later on the books followed the Adlers to London after they left Germany in March 1939.

Background

The years when the books in the Adler collection were published were the central years of the First Five-Year Plan when industrialisation, collectivisation and dekulakisation were in full swing. These factors strongly influenced the content of the books of the time, as comparison with books of earlier and later periods demonstrates. On the literary front the pluralism allowed under the New Economic Policy came to an end in 1928 with the establishment of the Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP). In the years following the Revolution and Civil War the importance of the education of the 'future builders of socialism' was accorded high importance. However, 'the relation between a socialist ideology on the one hand, and the pedagogical procedures necessary for its realization was still completely unknown.'⁷ This is not to be wondered at, especially in a country which had been stricken by civil war and famine, with a largely illiterate population and with many tens if not hundreds of thousands of homeless and wandering children. Debate about theory and principle was wide-ranging. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, writing in 1935, described the decade 1921–1930 as 'a period of luxuriant experiment, when the lessons of other countries were ignored; discipline neglected; the pupils were supposed to govern the school; the teachers did as they liked, whilst the inspectors favoured one system after another.'⁸ They called the result 'joyous bedlam'.

Books for children were a crucial element in moral education. In Krupskaja's words, 'The children's book is one of the most powerful weapons of the socialist character-education of the growing generation. Through children's books must be laid the foundation of the materialist world-view of the growing generation. This is a great and important task and a task that can be fulfilled.'⁹ This position was generally supported by a strong body of other educationalists. In the early part of the twenties education debate was lively, but towards the end of the decade the influence of the group of theorists known as 'pedologists',¹⁰ described by Chukovskii as 'miserable theoreticians of child-

⁷ James Bowen, *Soviet Education: Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), p. 16.

⁸ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* (London, 1935), vol. 2, p. 897.

⁹ Cited in Felicity Ann O'Dell, *Socialisation through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 53.

¹⁰ *Pedologiiia* is described in the *Ukrainskaia Sovetskaia entsiklopediia* as 'a pseudo-science representing a mechanistic complex of anatomical/physical, psychological, biological and sociological body of knowledge on children', *USE*, t. 8 (1982), Kiev, 1982, pp. 152–53. 'Pedology championed the idea that it was essential that education and teaching should be founded on the study of

guidance, contending that fairy-tales, toys and songs were useless to children of proletarians',¹¹ became paramount. In 1928 speakers at the First Congress of Pedologists included Lunacharskii, Bukharin and Krupskaia, and the following resolution was passed: 'In all its fields of work and in a most energetic way, Soviet pedology aims to meet the requirements of socialist upbringing as laid down by the October Revolution. Only Soviet power affords this science the possibility of becoming a really objective, dialectical materialist system of scientific knowledge which will then serve the broadest range of the working masses.'¹² The approach of the pedologists came to be condemned as being inconsistent with a true understanding of Marxism, and fundamental debate about education ended for many years in 1931.¹³

Such was the importance accorded to literature for 'the future builders of communism' that during the 1920s and 1930s an increasingly complex and convoluted series of structures were set up to monitor and censor publications for children.¹⁴ The organisation of children's publishing in the twenties and thirties has been described, understandably, as a maze. One account of how the decision making process worked is given by a Netherlands antiquarian bookseller N. A. Vloemans, though without specifying his source or the exact period to which the description refers. He says that a standing committee of the publishing house, composed of a poet, a prose writer, an artist and a few educationists, handled the decisions. The committee was advised through fortnightly meetings in which the writers and illustrators of children's books came face to face with teachers, librarians and critics. Proposals and texts were tested and criticized as to their aesthetic, literary and educational values. He adds:

Research into the tastes of the children themselves was handled by the Moscow Institute for the Advancement of Children's Literature. In schools

the child, or his/her age, psychological, anatomical/physical, biological characteristics, and on his/her living conditions', *Antologiiia pedagogicheskoi mysli Ukrainskoi SSR* (Moscow, Pedagogika, 1988), p. 597, n. 2.

¹¹ K. Chukovskii, *From Two to Five* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1963), p. 118. *Ot dvukh do piati* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1962), p. 188.

¹² See *A Search in Pedagogics*, compiled by A. Fradkin (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1990), pp. 201–202.

¹³ The pedologists were finally dismissed from the scene by a 1936 Resolution of the Central Committee, 'Concerning Pedological Distortions in the System of the People's Commissariat for Education', and most were arrested and liquidated. 'Postanovlenie TsK VKP (b) "O pedagogicheskikh izvrashcheniiakh v sisteme narkomprosov"', *Izvestiia*, 4 July 1936, vyp. 3, p. 5. See also *A Search in Pedagogics* (note 12), p. 202.

¹⁴ Apart from the main censorship organ, *Glavlit*, *Glavlitprosvet* (Glavnoe upravlenie po delam prosvetitel'noi literatury), headed by Krupskaia, GUS (Gosudarstvennyi uchenyi sovet), which came under the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment, and *Glavsotsvos* (Glavnoe upravlenie po sotsial'nomu vospitaniiu), all took an interest. See A. V. Blum, 'Detskaia literatura', in his *Za kulisami 'Ministerstva pravdy': tainaia istoriia sovetskoi tsenzury 1917–1929* (St Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1994), pp. 244–261, p. 244.

and children's libraries throughout the Soviet Union notes were kept of the reactions which the available material sparked off in the children, and great pains were taken to ensure that their 'judgement' was as spontaneous as possible. These reports were sent to the 'collector' at the Moscow Institute and used as the basis for guidelines issued to the editorial committee and its advisers.¹⁵

A similar account is given by Brice Parain, a French publisher with a good knowledge of the USSR, writing in 1931:

Children's books in the USSR are not improvised by writers and illustrators, and simply published. Their themes are first discussed by a pedagogic commission: first drafts of a text and of its illustrations are taken to children in school. They are shown them and have them read; depending whether they laugh, or are aroused, or are bored, various passages are kept or dropped; sketch illustrations may be transformed. The public has the right to criticize, well before the books are put on sale Beyond that, processes of reproduction are studied in advance by the artist and the editor, so that the book can be cheaply produced (from 20 kopecks to about a rouble) without losing artistic quality but also ensuring that the authors are properly paid. So there is continuous collaboration over technique, and over children's need both for practical instruction and for fantasy. That is the explanation for the very small number of children's books which are disapproved by the authorities.¹⁶

Kornei Chukovskii gives a different picture. In his *Journal*¹⁷ he describes how in 1927, when he was already a well-known writer with several children's and other books published, he found difficulty in getting approval for republishing old favourites, including *Krokodil*. On learning that the obstacle is in the Ministry of Enlightenment, where Krupskaia is head of the Commission for Children's Books,¹⁸ he goes to see her. Although she tells him that Lenin himself had smiled when he heard his nephew read Chukovskii's *Moidodyr* (Washstand), she concedes nothing and finds him arrogant.¹⁹ Two months later, 1 February 1928, *Pravda* published an article by Krupskaia 'About Crocodile by Chukovskii', describing the book as 'bourgeois filth'; this amounts to prohibition on all his children's books. Fortunately, on 14 March, Gor'kii replies in a letter also published in *Pravda*, recalling praise of Chukovskii by Lenin himself. This opens the door a crack, and on 27 March, Chukovskii hears

¹⁵ H. A. Vloemans, *Russian Children's Books* (The Hague, [1982?]), pp. [2, 3].

¹⁶ Brice Parain, 'Les livres d'enfants en Russie', *Monde*, edited by Henri Barbusse, 31 March 1931. Reprinted in Lévêque and Plantureux (note 1), p. 76.

¹⁷ K. Chukovskii, *Dnevnik* (Moscow, Sovetskii pisatel', 1991, 1994), 2 vols. Vol. 1: 1901–1929; vol. 2: 1930–1967. French translation: *Journal* (Paris, Fayard, 1997).

¹⁸ The original remit of the Commission for Children's Books (which was part of GUS) was to oversee textbooks, but from the end of 1927 no children's books could be published without its approval. See Chukovskii, *Dnevnik* 1901–1929 (note 17), vol. 1, pp. 503–504, n. 5.

¹⁹ K. I. Chukovskii, *Dnevnik* 1901–1927 (note 17), p. 427.

that the case of his books is to be re-examined at a meeting at the ministry which Marshak is to attend. A petition in support of Chukovskii by Marshak and other distinguished authors is organised. Marshak goes to see Krupskaja, rolling the pitch in advance of the meeting, and makes some ground with her. At the meeting with officials, he argues the case one by one for permitting republication of Chukovskii's books. All but one are agreed; as Chukovskii remarks, that was refused because they had to refuse something.²⁰

Though the prohibition is lifted, an extended article in *Krasnaia Pechat'* in September 1928 says: 'If we attack Chukovskii and his group, it is because they propose a petit-bourgeois ideology—the one they have in their bones'.²¹ Another article of 1929 in *Doshkol'noe vospitanie* (Pre-school Education) by the parents of the creche at the Kremlin calls on parents to boycott the books and campaign to engage with Soviet reality.²² However, Chukovskii was permitted to publish some titles, though not his most substantial works, in 1928/9, but then nothing then until 1933. Chukovskii sums up the relationship between writer and censors and the self-censorship practised by writers: 'In the end they don't prohibit many books, but how they prey on our nerves! And they don't prohibit much for the good reason that we have allowed ourselves to be perverted; that we have "adapted" ourselves and that we can no longer manage to write things that are spontaneous and sincere'.²³

Chukovskii and the pedologists were at one in fervently believing in the importance of books for the formation of children, but agreement stopped there. In his classic work about children's books and education *From Two to Five*, which first appeared in 1925 under the title *Malen'kie deti* and was revised several times by Chukovskii himself, Chukovskii vigorously expresses opposition to the 'pedologists' and support for the value of free, imaginative and undidactic writing. He illustrates vividly one of the practical consequences of the divergent approaches to children's upbringing. A crucial disagreement concerned the value of folk and fairy tales. Chukovskii describes reading the tales of Baron Munchhausen to children in hospital, to their immense delight, in sweltering heat one day in 1929 and describes how:

The woman officially looking after the children came running up to me—she was no longer listless—she seemed upset and there were red spots of anger all over her face. 'What's this?' she snapped. 'What do you think you're doing? We never . . . it's out of the question!' She snatched the book

²⁰ K. I. Chukovskii, *Dnevnik 1901–1927* (note 17), p. 450.

²¹ K. Sverdlova, 'O "Chukovskshchine"', *Krasnaia pechat'*, 1928, no. 9/10 (reprinted in Chukovskii, *Dnevnik 1901–1929* (note 17), pp. 444–45).

²² 'My prizyvaem k bor'be s "Chukovshchinoi"', *Doshkol'noe vospitanie*, 1929, no. 4, p. 74 (reprinted in Chukovskii's *Dnevnik 1901–1929* (note 17), p. 446). More light is cast on the processes by the chapter on children's books in Blum (note 14), where texts of documents recently released from the censor's files mirror Chukovskii's account.

²³ Chukovskii, *Dnevnik 1901–1929* (note 17), p. 430 (entry for 21 January 1928).

out of my hand and looked at it as if it were a frog. She carried it off holding it gingerly with two fingers, while the children howled with disappointment and while I followed her in a state of mild shock. For some reason my hands were shaking Then there appeared a young man in some kind of uniform and both began to speak to me as if I were a thief whom they had caught red-handed: 'What right do you have to read this trash to our children?' And the young man went on to point out, in an instructor's tone, that books for Soviet children must not be fantasies, not fairy tales, but only the kind that offer most authentic and realistic facts.²⁴

The ability of writers to adapt themselves to the requirements of the time is exemplified in the person of Samuil Marshak, the other leading children's writer of the period. Of Marshak's own writing, Elena Sokol observes:

Not untypically, Marshak's literary creativity was strongly affected by the political demands of Stalinism. A close study of his work for children, therefore, would reveal just how he adapted his style to suit the times. Such fanciful works of the mid-20s as 'Morozhenoe' [Ice Cream], 'Bagazh' [Luggage], 'Vot kakoi rasseiannyi' [That's How Absent-Minded] gave way first to a paean to the First Five-Year Plan, 'Voina s Dneprom' [War with the Dnieper] (1931), and then to heroic socialist realism, 'Rasskaz o neizvestnom geroe' [Story of an Unknown Hero] (1938).²⁵

But this oversimplifies: many of Marshak's most inventive titles were republished several times in the thirties.

An even less favourable view of Marshak is offered by Nadezhda Mandel'shtam:

. . . editors liked to think of themselves as connoisseurs of style, guardians of the language, and sponsors of new literary forms. One of the first to fancy himself in this role was Marshak. In his hoarsely rhapsodic voice he lectured his authors (as he liked to call them) on the art of writing, on how best to develop and embellish their subject matter, becoming masters of style in the process Marshak was exceptionally clever at avoiding ideas or aspects of real life that were taboo, always talking instead about the 'poetic' For the good of his own soul he had devised a glib philosophy which he could spout endlessly, plucking at the heartstrings even of his masters.²⁶

Marshak was well placed to influence children's publications; in addition to being a prolific writer for children over many decades, he was a publisher and

²⁴ Kornei Chukovskii, 'Razgovor o Miunkhauzene', in his *Ot dvukh do piati* (note 11), pp. 185–86; English translation, *From Two to Five* (note 11), pp. 114–15.

²⁵ See Elena Sokol, 'Samuil Iakovlevich Marshak', in *Reference Guide to Russian Literature*, edited by Neil Cornwell (London and Chicago, Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), pp. 545–548. 'Vot kakoi rasseiannyi', better translated as 'What an Absent-Minded Fellow', was in fact published in 1930.

²⁶ N. Mandelstam, *Hope Abandoned* (London, 1974), pp.411–12.

organiser. With Vladimir Lebedev as his main artistic partner, from 1925 he headed the children's department in Leningrad of the government publishing house—the organisation that was to become Detgiz, also known as Detizdat—in 1933/4 and continued as literary consultant there until 1937 when his staff was purged. In his various capacities over the years he sponsored the publication of children's books by writers who included leading figures of the absurdist avant-garde in adult literature, notable among them Daniil Kharms and Aleksandr Vvedenskii (both represented in the Adler collection) who, 'banished from the literature for adults ... found refuge in the section for children's literature of the state publishing house Gosizdat'.²⁷ Lidiia Chukovskaia who was an editor there describes how Marshak nurtured and helped Kharms, Vvedenskii and other writers to hone their writing and to find a voice that would speak to children.²⁸ Shklovskii says that, as an editor, Marshak instead of telling authors how to write was able to listen to and bring out their inner voice ('Redaktorstvo Marshaka—eto ne podskazka, a proslushivanie').²⁹ Lebedev played a similar role in attracting and nurturing young artists; his formative influence is acknowledged by, for example, Vasnetsov and Konashevich.³⁰ In Chukovskaia's words, the early thirties at Detgiz was a time when 'nearly every book was an experiment, a quest, a risk'.³¹ These were the circumstances in which the books in the Adler collection were published.

The Adler Collection

The collection has 257 different titles. All but a handful of those books with dates are from 1930–32, 100 of them from 1931 alone; many of the 85 Ukrainian books have no date but are almost certainly from the same years. The small number of earlier titles may be explained by the shortage of books in the twenties so that few remained unsold. Two-thirds were published in Russia (Moscow or Leningrad), three quarters by 'Molodaia gvardia' and the rest by Gosizdat, and the remainder in Ukraine (mostly in Kiev but a handful in Kharkov or Odessa). One is published by the Anti-Religious Press; another—Kaffirs—by Children's Friend (formerly Christian Gazette). Three

²⁷ Ben Hellman, *Barn- och ungdomsboken i Sovjet-Ryssland: Från oktoberrevolutionen till perestrojkan 1986* (Stockholm, Rabén & Sjögren, 1991). For summary in English, 'Children's Books in Soviet Russia: From October Revolution to Perestroika 1986', see: <http://www.helsinki.fi/~bhellman/summary.html>.

²⁸ Lidiia Chukovskaia, 'Marshak—redaktor', in her *V laboratorii redaktora*, izd. 2-oe, ispr. i dop. (Moscow, Iskusstvo, 1963), pp. 219–334.

²⁹ Viktor Shklovskii, 'Neskol'ko otryvistykh slov o Samuile Iakovleviche Marshake i ego druž'iakh i uchenikakh', in his *Staroe i novoe: kniga stat'ei o detskoj literature* (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo detskoj literatury, 1966), pp. 21–32, p. 30.

³⁰ See *Khudozhniki detskoj knigi o sebe i svoem iskusstve. Stat'i, rasskazy, zametki, vystupleniia, sostavil i prokommentiroval Vladimir Glotser* (Moscow, Kniga, 1987).

³¹ Chukovskaia (note 28), p. 243.

of the Ukrainian imprints are in Yiddish and a few are in Russian. They are all primarily illustrated books for quite young children, many of them with little or no text. The intended age-range was probably five to eight for most of the titles.

We do not know for sure the principle of selection of the books, but the Adlers had strong and informed interests in design, continued lifelong, and it is reasonable to assume that the books they selected stood out from the choice available by their visual distinction. Also, the books were cheap, especially for foreigners, and all accounts of Soviet life at the time confirm the lack of goods that were both cheap and attractive.³² It is for the illustrations that the books stand out—though the unity between text and pictures was deliberate and is a key aspect of their character. The 170 Russian titles feature the work of 125 different authors and of 107 different artists; of the artists over 60 are recorded in one or more reference works and include leading figures in fields other than children's book illustration: Lebedev himself, Shterenberg, Bruni, Deineka, Ermolaeva, Charushin, Favorskii, Konashevich, the Kukrinskys and others were known as painters, print-makers, poster and theatre designers.³³ The work of some of these individuals stands out; but almost equally remarkable is the standard consistently reached by rank and file artists who have not made their way into reference books. The artists were young: about half of those of whom we have information were under 30 in 1930.

How representative are the books in the Adler collection? No statistics for individual years are available for the period in question, but in 1928, for example, 1533 Russian titles for children were published (680 of these by GIZ and Molodaia gvardiia).³⁴ The total number of titles for the years 1928–1932 is 9357 titles.³⁵ Given that these figures are for books for children of all ages, it may be surmised that the Russian books in the Adler collection could represent up to one-tenth of the illustrated published output for small children in 1930–32, and more than that for 1931. The collection has examples by about a third of the artists recorded in the *Dictionnaire des Illustrateurs de livres d'enfants russes*,³⁶ published by the Bibliothèque de l'Heure Joyeuse, covering

³² For example, one contemporary eyewitness from the USA writes: 'many travelers to Russia prefer to mail home children's books instead of letters ...'. See Ernestine Evans, 'Russian Children and their Books', *Asia / The American Asiatic Association*, vol. 31 (October 1931), pp. 686–91, 727–28.

³³ The artists are strongly represented in *Art in the USSR* (Studio, London 1935), clearly a showcase publication, supported by the Soviet Embassy, for leading Soviet artists in various fields, and which includes articles on drawing and engraving by A. Chegodaev, Keeper of Soviet Graphics in the Museum of Fine Arts, and on painting by A. Bassekhes.

³⁴ L. Kon, *Sovetskaia detskaia literatura 1917–1929. Ocherk istorii russkoi detskoi literatury* (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1960), p. 63 and p. 64.

³⁵ *Knigoizdanie SSSR: tsifry i fakty 1917–1987* (Moscow, Kniga, 1987), p. 268.

³⁶ Lévêque and Plantureux (note 1).

the period 1917–1945. That library has a contemporary Soviet catalogue of 100 books for children, not all illustrated, for the year 1930, of which 11 are in the Adler collection. Finally, the most exhaustive work on children's books of the period, Gankina's *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi*,³⁷ offers another comparison: among her bibliographies of leading artists of children's books are 29 who were publishing in 1930–1932: the Adler collection has titles by 19 of them. These artists published 250 titles in the three years, of which the collection includes 39. Authors include Marshak (well represented) and Chukovskii (less well), Tolstoi and Chekhov, Maiakovskii, Kharms, Vvedenskii, Shvarts, Vitalii Bianki, Olga Berggol'ts, Agniia Barto and Nikolai Aseev and many other lesser-known names.

The Russian and Ukrainian books have much in common, in addition to sharing high standards of design. But there are some differences between the Russian and the Ukrainian groups. Some of these differences are apparently trivial, but no doubt reflect the different development of politics and of literary politics between Russia and Ukraine through the twenties—and the struggle for Ukraine to maintain autonomy of language and culture. Apart from the lack of date as a universal feature, at a certain point late in 1931, the Russian books begin to include in the technical (and presumably legally required) data, the names of editors, usually two, sometimes three. This does not happen so systematically in Ukraine. The innovation is clearly linked with, perhaps the direct consequence of the resolutions of the First All-Russian Conference on Children's Literature which took place in February 1931. Among them was the requirement that the authors and artists of children's books should be 'provided with technical consultation and qualified comradesly criticism'.³⁸ This degree of supervision is very striking for such modest productions.

Only a handful of the books in the collection have substantial quantities of text. One or two have hard backs. Most are paperbacks of 12–24 pages, varying in size a fair amount. The majority of the books are printed by lithograph, most in three or four colours, and designed as an integrated whole, text and illustrations flowing from the covers into rest of the book—unity between text and pictures was deliberate and is a key aspect of their character. Print runs claimed are almost all between 20,000 and 200,000, a few of the more expensive ones below that range. Moscow books have about twice the circulation of those printed in Leningrad. The price range is from 8 kopecks for the smallest

³⁷ E. Z. Gankina, *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi* (Moscow, Sovetskii pisatel', 1963).

³⁸ E. O. Putilova, *Ocherki po istorii kritiki sovetskoi detskoi literatury 1917–1941* (Moscow, Detskaya literatura, 1982), p. 65 (chapter on the Conference, pp. 61–65). The conference proceedings were published as *Za proletarskuiu detskuiu knigu. Rezoliutsiia i postanovleniia I Vserossiiskoi konferentsii detskoi literatury 2–6 fevralia 1931 g.*, sb. 1 (Moscow, Molodaia gvardiia).

books to 50 kopecks, with a small number above that.³⁹

One way of considering the content of the books is by the subject matter of the text. Analysing content can be a subjective process, and also a reductive one. But my own categorisation of the Adler books on a scale aiming to measure political content, overt or latent,⁴⁰ suggests that only about a quarter have no such content: these are books that differ little from illustrated books of the period for small children in the west. Picture books about birds and pond life are examples; others are riddle books. Another group, perhaps 15 per cent, are at the other end of the scale: clear messages, communist themes, attacks on religion, on capitalism and imperialism. The remainder—almost all except the groups identified above as dealing with toys and puzzles, animals and nature study—vary in the strength and clarity of their purpose, but in different degrees are almost all evidently intended to contribute to the cohesion of the new Soviet society. The subject matter of many of the books reflect the events of the early 1930s—the central years of the first Five Year Plan and a time when collectivisation and dekulakisation were in full swing. Many deal with collective farms, in one of which (*Pisnia pro Volod'ku traktorysta*, 1931) (Fig. 1) we see a kulak sabotaging a bridge and being led away by the police, and another is devoted to the great dam on the Dnieper. In order, the largest groups among the Russian books deal with: industry and construction; social life generally—children at play or in a creche, sport, libraries, an emphasis on cooperation; politics—May Day parades, episodes from the revolution, lives of notable figures, celebration of the Red Army; animals; agriculture (many about collective farms); travel (with an emphasis on the variety of the Soviet Union); toys and puzzles. Smaller groups deal with nature study, science and religion (that is, anti-religion). Finally, there is a very small group that represent fantasy in one form or another. These categories overlap and spill into one another, but this is a reasonable general picture of the subject-matter. There are a good many books for small children (some specifically labelled 'pre-school') with little if any text. There are no fairy or folk tales. Almost the only imaginative stories are those by Chekhov, Tolstoi and Kipling (poems and *Just-So Stories*). Nor is there much by way of humour in the texts.

This summary of the content of books of the turn of the decade may be

³⁹ For comparison with these prices, a contemporary novel set in 1920–27 provides one or two benchmarks. Depositing a suitcase at a left-luggage office cost 10 kopecks; the cheapest room in a hotel (not necessarily the cheapest hotel) in the provinces cost a rouble for a night; a clerk about whom people speculated how he could survive was paid 46 roubles a month (in fact he was a crooked millionaire lying low). I. Il'f and E. Petrov, *The Golden Calf*, first English publication, London, 1964.

⁴⁰ The method adopted was to allocate a score on a scale of 0–5 to each of the 170 titles. The 36 titles with named editors were given an average score of 3; the remaining, and earlier, titles had a score of 2.2. I am indebted to my brother Denis McQuail, lately Professor of Mass Communication, University of Amsterdam, for advice on methods of analysing content.



Іде трактор — кінь залізний,
А Володь біжить назустріч.
— Дядю! Дядю!
А ну злізте,
Розкажу цікаву річ вам!

Зупинилася машина.
Ну кажи. Що сісти хочеш?
А Володько оком кинув,
Хоч блищать у хлопця очі.

На місток не можна їхать,
Бо стовпи там піднялися.
Упаде в болото трактор,
Упаде із греблі в яму!

Підійшли до мосту хлопці.

А чия це тут робота?
Нас хотів укинути в яму,
Нічеш сам тепер в болото!

Завтра відуть з району,
Завтра рано-пораненьку
Заберуть з міцного двору
Куркуля того, Омелька.

А ти, хлопче, будеш з нами.
Малий хлопче, зате бистрий.
Виростеш у нас в комуні,
Станеш нашим трактористом.

І поїхав трактор боком,
Вражу греблю об'їздити
А песня шуміла полем,
Виростаю буйне жито.



Fig. 1. *Pisnia pro Volod'ku traktorysta*. Text P. Mel'nyk, illustrations O. Dovhal'.
[Kharkov], Molodyi bil'shovyk, 1931.

enough to explain Chukovskii's bitter remark of 1929 that what was on offer to children was 'mouldy, rotten garbage';⁴¹ though this one-liner is not the whole story, or the conclusion that other commentators drew at the time, or now. Part of the explanation is that the content of the books changed over the years.

Two recent writers, Alla Rosenfeld and Evgenii Steiner, date to 1925 the origin of a special genre of children's books which Rosenfeld describes as dealing with science and technology and which Steiner designates 'production books', demonstrating their heavily political purpose. The term would apply reasonably to a third or more of the Adler books, including some of the most distinguished (for example, *Elektromonter*, illustrated by Deineka). But Steiner proposes: 'in terms of quantity and overall significance, the production book took the lead in children's books somewhere in the mid-1920s'.⁴² He develops his thesis forcibly, with detailed analysis of many books and individual illustrations, including some from a striking Marshak/Lebedev collaboration, *Yesterday and Today*. Steiner's detailed argument requires fuller treatment than is possible here. It is enough to say here that he overstates his case, certainly so far as quantity is concerned.

Helpful light is also cast by Felicity Ann O'Dell's *Socialisation through Children's Literature*.⁴³ She examines the content of *Murzilka*, the most popular magazine for Little Octoberists (under tens) for the years 1928, 1938, 1958 and 1971. Many of the interesting points made about change over these years go beyond the scope of this paper, but it is noteworthy that she sums up the content of the 1928 *Murzilka* as being

almost totally oriented towards pleasure. The burden of its content is stories and verses about animals or games—there is as yet absolutely no hint of the need for a love of work or the Motherland or for reverence for Lenin. If the stories included at this time could be said to have had any deliberate purpose at all, this could solely have been to cultivate in their readers' imagination a spirit of inventiveness and originality of thought—all qualities in keeping with the still strong revolutionary ethos of the time.

She summarises the September issue's contents to illustrate this. There are no folk or fairy stories, but one about a children's home where one little girl annoys everyone else by her laziness. By 1938 *Murzilka* has become heavily politicised, as exemplified by a feature in the April issue, exhorting its young readers:

Children! Our glorious intelligence . . . has unmasked yet another vipers'

⁴¹ Cited by Steiner (note 4), p. 134, from 'Trinadtsat zapovedi dlia detskikh poetov', *Kniga detiam*, 1, 1929, p. 18.

⁴² Steiner (note 4), p. 71.

⁴³ O'Dell (note 9).

nest of enemies of the Soviet people. The fascists, Bukharin, Rykov and Yagoda and others, were called to account before the Supreme Court of the USSR All the peoples of our great Motherland with one voice demanded: 'Shoot the bandits! . . . '.

The 1938 issues did however see folk tales and medieval epics restored.

Offering a similar impression, the Netherlands bookseller quoted above says of his collection of books of the period, half of them from the years 1925–29, 'Obviously, politics cannot be absent altogether'.⁴⁴ And, although Rosenfeld identifies the new genre, the books she discusses from the period are by no means dominated by concerns with production, science or technology.

The conclusion that the books of the years 1930–32 were different from those of earlier and later years is supported by comparison of the books in the Adler collection with those in the Bibliothèque l'Heure Joyeuse: a rather larger number of comparable books—212 as against 170—but over a longer period (in effect from 1920 to 1940). The key point is that, both before and after the years 1930–32, children's books contained a higher proportion of fantasy, fun and fiction. After 1932, the picture changes again, as consideration of the bibliographies provided by Gankina confirms. A major influence is likely to have been Gor'kii on his definitive return to the USSR in the early thirties, reported as saying after a visit to the 1931 Exhibition of Children's Books: 'What a lamentable affair! . . . criticism in this field is putting fetters on imagination, not understanding how important the development of imagination is for children.'⁴⁵ But the effect is noticeable. The return of fairy and folk-tales, Russian and foreign, is one aspect of this, together with a wider range of foreign authors in translation—mostly authors of animal stories.

The earliest book in the Adler collection, with text and illustrations by Lebedev, published in Petrograd in 1922 is Marshak's *Prikliuchenia Chuch-lo* (Adventures of a Scarecrow)—a fantastic tale of a scarecrow who is lifted off by crows, is flown to New York, goes west by train, fights buffaloes and native Americans, meets alligators and rescues passengers from a shipwreck. All this is told and drawn deadpan in a style that ingeniously combines children's script and stickman pictures with effects—a delicate and powerful buffalo—that a child would marvel at but could not draw. It fully exemplifies Lebedev's own comment:

It is very important for the artist who works on children's books to have the ability and the know-how to again experience the keen inquisitiveness which he experienced in childhood. But if the artist deliberately tries to

⁴⁴ Vloemans (note 15).

⁴⁵ Quoted in Bettina Hurlimann, *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe*, first published in German in Vienna 1959. English translation 1967, CUP. Gor'kii is also quoted, also 1931, on the deprivation for Russian children caused by the lack of imaginative literature for children to read.

think like a child, nothing will turn out right and he will be easily seen to be an artistic fake.⁴⁶

In the early and middle twenties the tone is set by the early Marshak/Lebedev books and by Chukovskii's inventive fables.⁴⁷ There is nothing quite like *Chuch-lo* in later years, but apart from these leading figures, there is in the *Heure Joyeuse* collection an edition of *Alice in Wonderland* and many more books whose main classification must be humour.

The chief way in which analysing the content by reference to the formal text is misleadingly reductive is that it ignores the illustrations. Study of the Adler books is a positive pleasure, whatever the nominal content. Marshak is well-represented in the collection by eight books, several in collaboration with Vladimir Lebedev as illustrator: with only a small number of exceptions, almost all of Lebedev's illustrations for children's books were with Marshak, though Marshak used many different artists. Their partnership is well described by Kuznetsov,⁴⁸ with particular emphasis on Lebedev's role as mentor of the young artists in the team. Clearly a dominant figure, as manager, entrepreneur, writer—and survivor—Marshak's work is fondly and vividly remembered in Alexander Pasternak's memoirs:

Childhood memories were caught, beautifully and accurately, in Marshak's fine poem (*Pozhar*), 1923. The first edition, well-illustrated by Konashevich, made a great impression on all its readers—adults, perhaps, even more than children. I can still remember some of Konashevich's rich water-colours, and bitterly regret that of all my son's picture books we preserved so carefully, this one failed to survive. Nor can I understand the misguided initiative by which the second edition was up-dated. It seems that Marshak felt bound to spoil his own work, as well as the illustrator's, just to keep up with the times. The new verses, robbed of their dated appeal, were bolstered by boring black-and-white pictures of contemporary firemen, evoking none of the first edition's warm feelings. Certainly we need the horribly squalling sirens (poor Sirens!) of the modern, high-speed fire brigade. And yet, the other was the picturesque old Moscow, in all its antiquated richness.⁴⁹

Many of the illustrations are clearly in the tradition set by the avant-garde artists of the years before and just after the revolution. Alla Rosenfeld⁵⁰ has

⁴⁶ *Literaturnyi sovremmenik*, 1933, no. 12, p. 204.

⁴⁷ The measurable political content is also different; scores are higher for 1930–32 than for either 1920–29 or 1933–39.

⁴⁸ Erast Davidovich Kuznetsov, *L'illustrazione del Libro per Bambini e l'Avanguardia Russa* (Florence, Cantini, 1991).

⁴⁹ A. Pasternak, *A Vanished Present*, translated by Ann Pasternak Slater (Oxford, 1984), p. 45. Pasternak's memory falters though the spirit is right. In fact, several editions of *Pozhar* with different illustrations appeared before the shabby one invoked here.

⁵⁰ *Defining Russian Graphic Arts* (note 3).

a persuasive account of the artistic antecedents of these Russian artists. Like Steiner, but to different purpose, she uses the Marshak/Lebedev collaboration *Yesterday and Today* to illustrate her point that Lebedev's books were 'excellent expressions of the Constructivist principles of design'. She also describes another book in the Adler collection, *Post (Pochta)*, an amusing and informative—and popular—collaboration between Marshak and the constructivist artist (and later animator) Mikhail Tsekhanovskii. At the 'opposite pole' of design she proposes Vera Ermolaeva, organiser of the workshop and publisher of children's books 'Segodnia' and one of the founders of UNOVIS,⁵¹ who illustrated books by Kharms and Vvedenskii, among others, in a free and humorous manner. One of the most striking books in the Adler collection, described by Lévêque and Plantureux as a masterpiece, is an atmospheric work (Vvedenskii and Ermolaeva)—*Rybaki* (Fishermen) (Fig. 2)—about the hazards and comradeship of life on the fishing boats.⁵²

In the collection as a whole, the layout of the pages, the integration of pictures and text, the style of drawing, are a kind of domestication of the freedom opened up by the pioneers of futurism and constructivism. The pictures draw you on, creating a belief that the next page will be lively and interesting too. There is a surprisingly small proportion of duds. The pictures are not confined, as the text is, by the limitations of formal subject-matter. To take one example, Kharms's *Million* (Fig. 3) has been described as a 'classic of Soviet children's literature'—though it is hard to imagine that being said by someone who had seen and read the book. Its text is extremely banal. Yet the little book as a whole springs to life through the humorous vigour of the illustrations, by Konashevich. There is an interesting contrast with the other example of Kharms's work in the collection: *How Father shot me a Polecat (O tom, kak papa zastrelil mne khor'ka)* (Fig. 4), an engaging rhyming tale as the title implies; but with the unfortunate polecat ending up shot by accident and stuffed. Not the normal happy ending of a child's animal story, but perhaps showing Kharms's subversive side.⁵³ In this case pictures (by Vasnetsov) and words do match one another in wit and style.

Illustration in colour is needed to give a fair idea of the books' appeal. But brief description of a selection of the books, not necessarily by the star artists, gives a flavour of their subject-matter and of the variety of approach to illustration. A small sample is represented by an account of the first ten books in

⁵¹ Vera Ermolaeva died in a gulag in Karaganda in 1938. She was not sufficiently well regarded to figure in Gankina's *Russkie khudozhniki detskoi knigi*.

⁵² It is curious that this collaboration between Vvedenskii and Ermolaeva should have been one of half a dozen chosen for publication by Perry Brooks with English text during the war.

⁵³ That Kharms was not a natural writer for children is suggested by a line of dialogue from one of his best known stories, *Starukha*: '“And which, in your opinion, are better; dead people or children?” I asked', D. Kharms, *The Old Woman* (Bristol Classical Press, 1995), p. 13.



Вот дело какое случилось у нас
 В рыбацкой простой деревушке:
 Идут рыбаки в предутренний час,
 А ветер деревья качает верхушки.

Идут рыбаки, и мальчик спешит,
 Собака бежит и лает.
 Собака бежит, собака визжит,
 Собака в море желает.

Fig. 2. *Rybaki*. Text A. Vvedenskii, illustrations V. Ermolaeva.
 [Leningrad], Molodaia gvardiia, 1931.



Fig. 3. *Million*. Text D. Kharms, illustrations V. Konashevich. [Leningrad], Molodaia gvardiia, 1931.

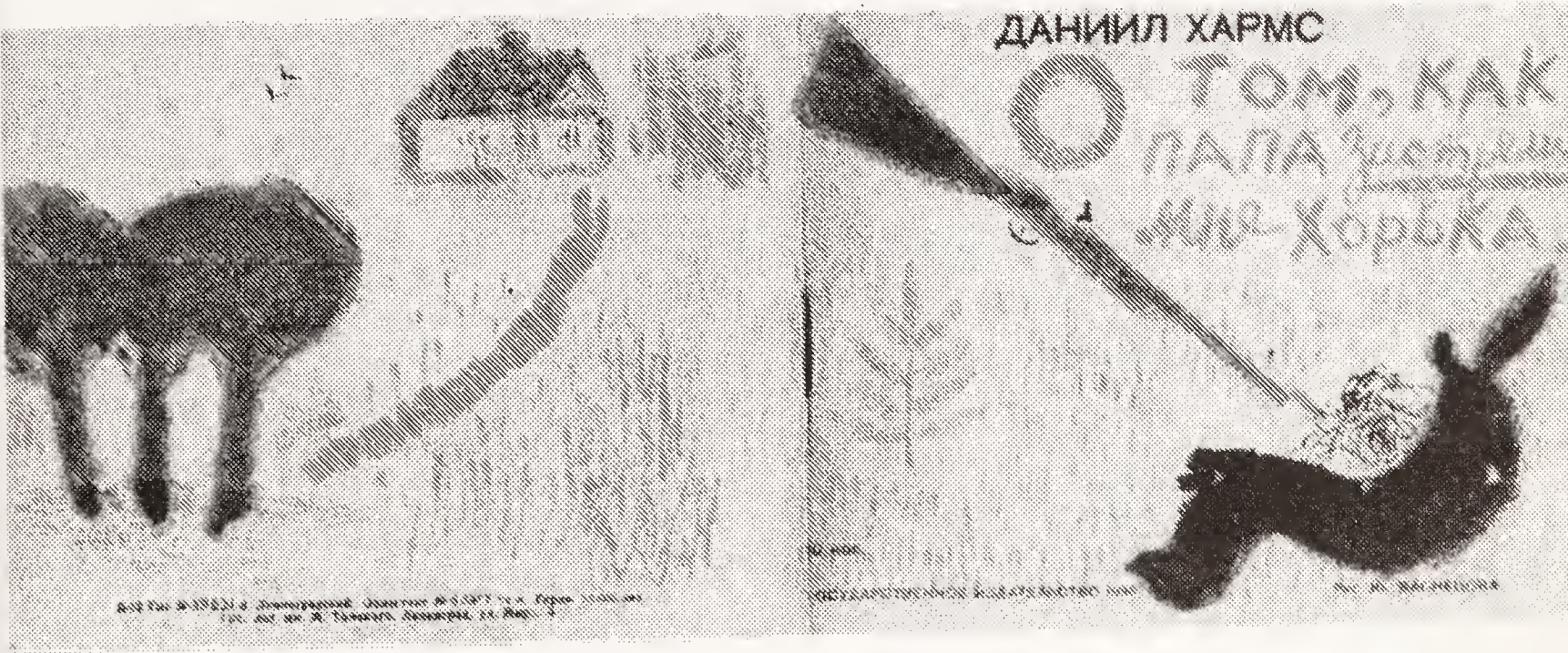


Fig. 4. *O tom, kak papa zastrelil mne khor'ka*. Text D. Kharms, illustrations Iu. Vasnetsov. [Leningrad], Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930.

alphabetical order of the named author.

1. Centre of Gravity (*Tsentr tiazhesti*) (Fig. 5), text by A. Abramov, illustrated by K. V. Kuznetsov, is in four colours; simple science with semi-abstract pictures, some almost diagrammatic, of trams, trains, tractors, cars tools and children. A rocking horse is part of the story of balance and leverage; but a bird and a baby bear are there for fun, and so is the boy on the cover waving sempahore flags.
2. Summer (*Leto*), no text apart from a publisher's message asking if V. P. Akhmetev, the illustrator, has done well. Pictorially fluid, a shade abstract, full of animation, showing the pleasure of work, and recreation for the young 'Octoberists' on the kolkhoz.
3. First of May (*Pervoe maia*), text by Z. N. Aleksandrova, illustrations by Zenkovich. A satirical cover shows the enemy: officer, capitalist, priest. Narrative text, separate from pictures, describing how the schoolchildren celebrate the First of May; water-colour style pictures show the parade of happy children. Caricature figures in the carnival with children, apparently from many countries, celebrating—the children delicately presented.
4. Wind on the Stream (*Veter na rechke*), slight text by Z. N. Aleksandrova; illustrations by V. I. Ivanova show nursery school children taken to the little river, playing games, undressing, splashing about, dressing, going back for lunch (staffing ratio one adult to thirty-eight children). Lightness and gaiety in the simple tale and its lively pictures.
5. At Anchor (*Na iakore*) (Fig. 6), text by V. S. Alfeevskii and T. A. Lebedeva, illustrations by Lebedeva. This shows the comings and goings of a port—ships, cargo, passengers, warehouses—in a free and easy impressionistic way, in rather a humorous manner. Two low-key colours with dashes of bright red to set them off. A notorious error in the name of a ship at anchor caused this edition to be withdrawn: reversing the Russian letter и in the name would not have mattered if the name had not been Lenin's 'Il'ich'.
6. Park of Culture and Leisure (*Park kul'tury i otdykha*) (Fig. 7), no text, illustrations by Alfeevskii and Lebedeva; pictures in even more freehand style of weekend activities in a public park; swimming, boating, tennis and other ball-games, listening to the band, going to an acrobatic show. Similarly relaxed, humorous and cartoon-like. A Book Day, including a children's book kiosk, is part of the fun—the only didactic note.
7. Stormy Weather (*Kuter'ma*), text by N. N. Aseev, illustrations by A. A. Deineka. One of three titles by this artist in the collection, this one illustrates winter verses with a dramatic cover and five atmospheric black-



Fig. 5. *Tsentr tiazhesti*. Text Al. Abramov, illustrations K. Kuznetsov. [Moscow], Molodaia gvardiia, 1931.

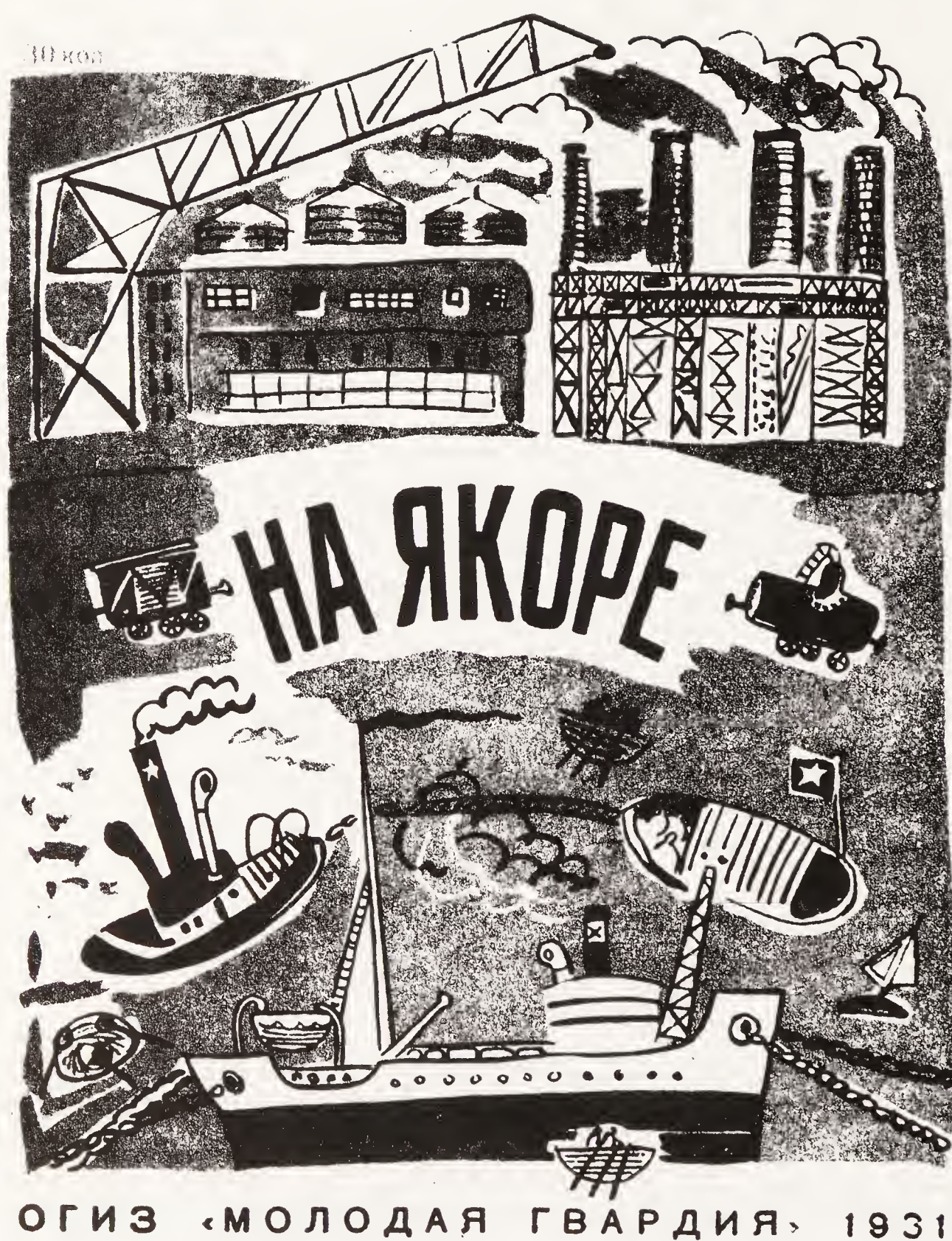


Fig. 6. *Na iakore*. Text V. Alfeevskii, illustrations T. Lebedeva.
[Moscow], Molodaia gvardiia, 1931.



Fig. 7. *Park kul'tury i otdykha*. Illustrations V. Alfeevskii and T. Lebedeva. [Moscow], Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930.

and-white pictures—very confidently and economically composed—of winter scenes.

8. Russian Folk Toys (*Russkie narodnye igrushki*), text by A. Bakushinskii, illustrator A. Denshin. First of a series of booklets (not strictly for children but likely to appeal to them) showing, in this case, moulded clay toys, as if hand-coloured, the colours vivid, in a child's way; with an informative text, in a style to convey their charm rather than reproduce their appearance.
9. A Hymn to Construction (*Pesn' o stroike*), text by Agniia Barto with illustrations by Tat'iana Mavrina: how the task of equipping the Soviet Union with the factories, machines, water, roads and agriculture needed in the modern world is being carried out. The illustrations are bold, using blocks of colour and the placing of figures and text to persuasive effect. The message is clear, the pictures quite abstract but with enough detail to catch a child's attention.
10. The Dirty Little Girl (*Devochka chumazia*), text again by Barto, but with a different artist, V. I. Ivanova. A mother quizzes a small girl covered in dirt about how it happened. Repetition in text and picture is part of the structure of the little tale. Friends arrive with jug and basin, the dirty girl washes, orderly play resumes. The figures are sketched in lightly, hand-drawn captions as well as text are part of the structure of the page layout.

In spite of relaxation on subject-matter in the course of the early thirties, the introduction of the concept of Socialist Realism from 1932 pressed down on artists from a different direction. The change did not happen overnight, among children's books or in art generally.⁵⁴ Innovative children's books went on being published almost to the end of the thirties. But, even before the purge of Marshak's press, a clear warning appeared in *Pravda* in March 1936 in an article about a Marshak/Lebedev collaboration headed 'On painter-daubers':

This is a book which you leaf through with revulsion, like a pathological-anatomical atlas As if some gloomy, savage had walked through the whole book, ruining everything, soiling it, leaving its dirty work on everything. And having done its foul business, wrote its name with pleasure: 'drawings by the artist Vladimir Lebedev'.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ The gradual way in which Socialist Realism developed, and other forms of art survived, is illustrated in E. F. Kovtun, *Sovetskoe isskustvo 20–30-kh godov* (Leningrad, Isskustvo, Leningradskoe otделение, 1988). A number of our children's artists appear.

⁵⁵ Quoted in *Avant-Garde Art in Russia 1920–1930* (Parkstone, Aurora 1996).

Ukrainian books

After the Civil War, Ukrainians, for the first time in centuries, were permitted to publish and develop their own literature. The twenties naturally saw a great expansion of Ukrainian education and literature. But the degree of autonomy that was permitted to the Ukrainian communist government, in this as in other spheres, could not survive the successive stages of imposition of Soviet Russian power. From the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan, Ukraine, with its mineral and agricultural resources, was crucial to plans for industrialising the USSR.

It might be expected that the strand of Ukrainian independence would be reflected in the content of the books, at least to some degree, perhaps in marked differences in subject matter from the Russian books. But in fact the subject matter of the Ukrainian books for these years falls into much the same groupings as those from Russia: in order again, the largest groups are industry; transport; socialising children; agriculture; animals; and politics. However, categories missing from the Ukraine group of books but represented in Russia, are toys, fantasy, nature and science. These omissions make the Ukrainian books as a group even more utilitarian than those from Russia. No obvious explanation for this difference suggests itself, but deserves further thought.⁵⁶ As to political content, analysis on the same basis described above for Russian books, about 20 per cent have no political content, and rather over 15 per cent are strongly political. These differences from Russia are the almost inevitable consequence of the lack of the categories described in the previous paragraph.

Writers and artists from Ukraine are less well-recorded in reference works than those from Russia—though in general the standard of art in the books of the two groups would be hard to distinguish. The 85 titles represent 49 authors and 39 artists. Most prolific, both as author and illustrator, of others' books as well as of his own, is Borys Kriukov. Of those 49, a book on Ukrainian children's literature published in Moscow in 1982⁵⁷ lists only six authors, with substantial articles on four: Oles' Donchenko, Oksana Ivanenko, Mariia Pryhara and Natalia Zabala. Very few artists appear in the substantial biographical dictionary of Ukrainian art *Mystetstvo Ukrainy*.⁵⁸

The writers and artists may be neglected, but their works survive. A few examples show the quality and versatility of their work. Kriukov's *Trevoga* (Fire Alarm) (Fig. 8) is told in pictures only. The title speaks for itself, and the little book rivals the Konashevich/Marshak *Pozhar* for vigour and excitement.

⁵⁶ In the second half of the twenties and the early thirties the 'pedologists' were just as vociferous and influential in Ukraine as in Russia (see *Antologiiia pedgagicheskoi mysli Ukrainy* (note 8), p. 598, n. 2), and they too led a vigorous campaign against fairy tales. E. Ianovskaia's *Nuzhna li skazka proletarskomu rebenku?* was published in Kharkov in 1925.

⁵⁷ Iurii Iarmysh, *Detskaia literatura Ukrainy* (Moscow, Detskaia literatura, 1982).

⁵⁸ *Mystetstvo Ukrainy. Biografichnyi dovidnyk* (Kiev, Ukrains'ka entsiklopediia), 1997.

Rachev's *Kolkhosnyi stavok* (Kolkhoz Pond) (Fig. 9), with a slight didactic text, has witty and charming pictures of pond life, with the new kolkhoz as background. Natalia Dirsh's *Iak zviriv lovyly* (Catching Wild Animals) (Fig. 10), illustrated by Serhii Kononchuk, shows white hunters, assisted by natives of Africa, trapping animals for the zoo, the animals sprightly. Type and illustrations complement each other, picking up a device of the early avant-garde. Among the Yiddish books, a particularly vivid example (Fig. 11) shows a Young Pioneer shaking off the authority of his Jewish father. Among the most striking of the Ukrainian books is *Pro moria i pro maiak* (About the Sea and the Lighthouse) (Fig. 12), with bold and clear illustrations by S. Uzunova to verses by Maiakovskii. The Ukrainian part of the collection needs further study and deserves an article to itself.

Conclusion

The books in the Adler collection, because so closely dated to a short period, offer a reasonable picture of those produced in 1930–32. Comparison with books produced in the Soviet Union over a longer period, 1920–1940, suggests significant differences in content as between these years and those before and after. It should not be surprising that more of the children's books of these years dealt with the efforts of the Five-Year Plan in industry and agriculture than in the twenties; and this is strongly confirmed. Nor is it surprising, given the efforts of the educationalists through the twenties, with support from Krupskaja and the suspicion of the censors, that folk and fairy tales are lacking. This too is confirmed. An even stronger conclusion, which can be drawn from the collection itself, is that whatever the nominal subject matter the artists can still produce books that will give pleasure to children. Marina Tsvetaeva's words at the head of this article are not the product of scientific analysis and comparison. But their spirit is surely right.

I would like to thank my editor, Dr Christine Thomas, and Françoise Lévêque of the Bibliothèque l'Heure Joyeuse for encouragement and much practical help.

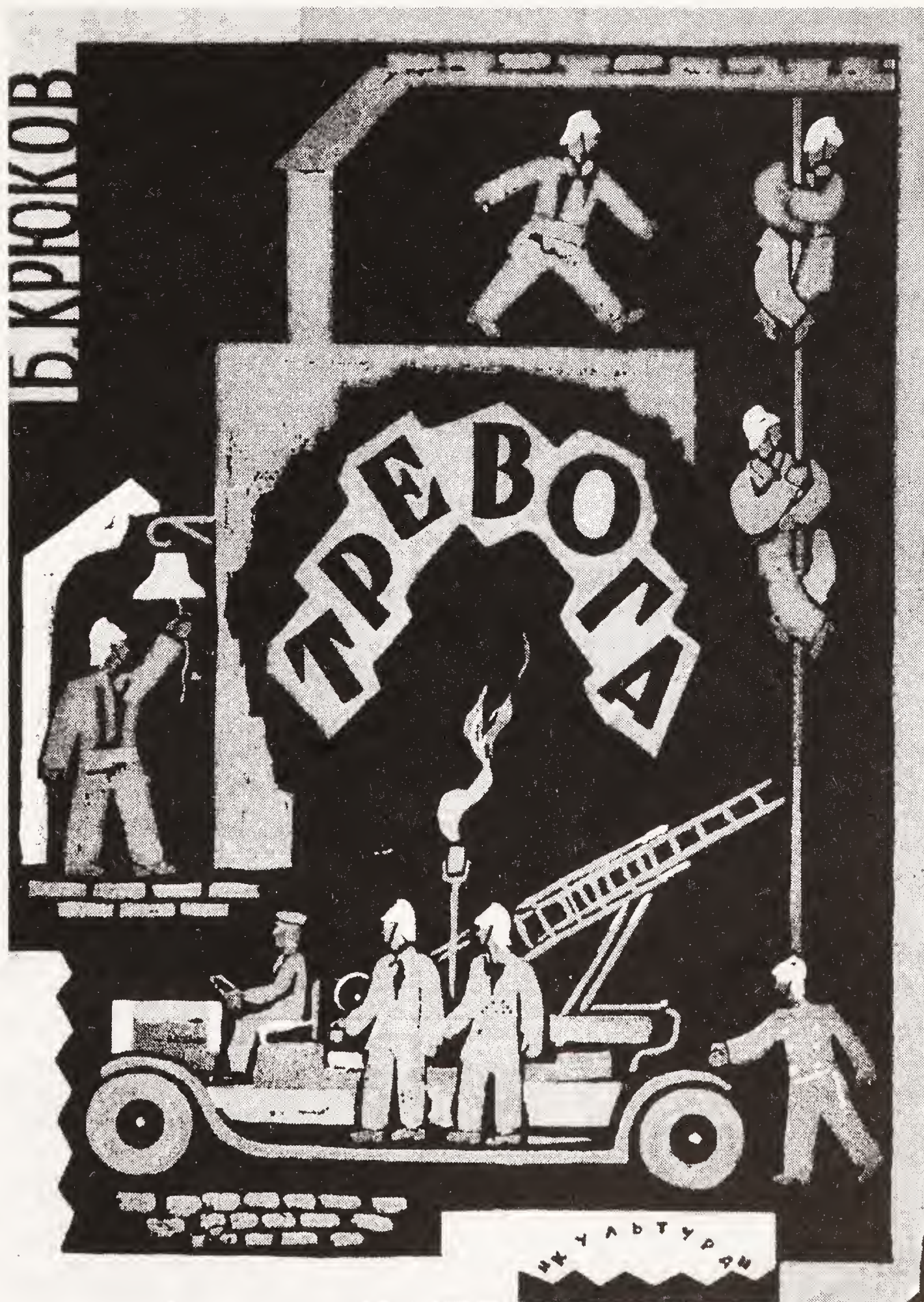


Fig. 8. *Trevoga*. Illustrations B. Kriukov. [Kiev], Kul'tura, [n.d.].

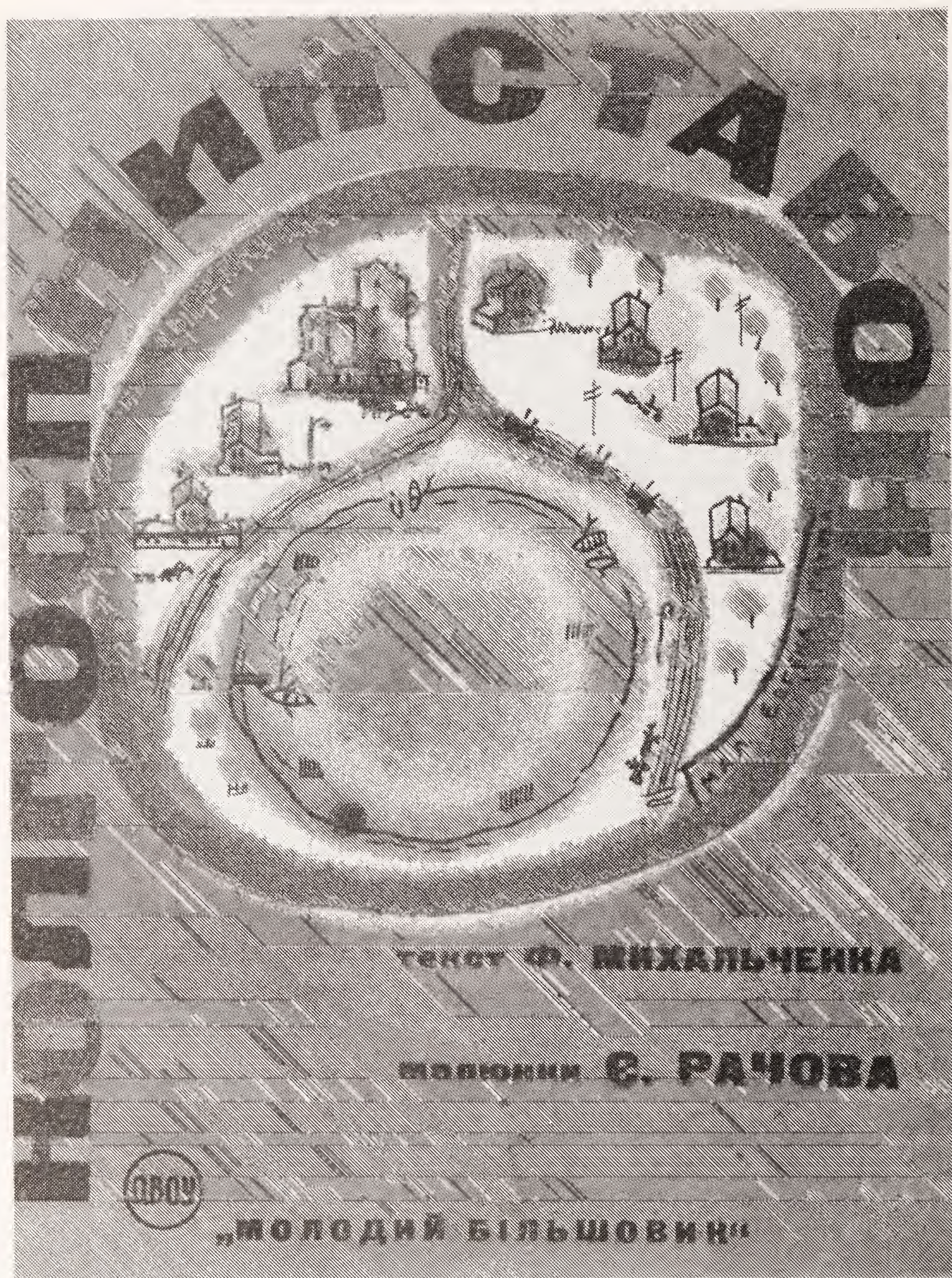


Fig. 9. *Kolohospnyi stavok*. Text F. Mikhal'chenko, illustrations Ie. Rachov. [N.p.], Molodyi bil'shovyk, 1932.



Fig. 10. *Iak zviriv lovyli*. Text Natalia Dirsh, illustrations Serhii Kononchuk. [N.p.], Molodyi bil'shovyk, [n.d.].



Fig. 11. 'Tsy-p-Tsap' (Bezvirnyk). Text (in Yiddish) B. Hutians'kyi, illustrations P. Kats. [Kiev], Tsentrviday, [n.d.].



Fig. 12. *Pro moria i pro maiak*. Text V. Maiakovskii, illustrations S. Uzunova. [N.p.], Molodyi bil'shovyk, [n.d.].

The Library Purges of 1932–1937 in Soviet Russia

M. V. Zelenov

On 30 October 1929 the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party adopted a decree 'On the improvement of library work', which mentioned the need 'to carry out a review of the book stock of all libraries and clear it of publications which are ideologically harmful, obsolete or inappropriate to the type of library concerned'.¹ No preparatory materials bearing on this document have survived in the original records of the CC Secretariat.² Some light is thrown on the origins of the decree by N. K. Krupskaya, Chair of the Political Enlightenment Administration (Glavpolitprosvet) of the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros), in a letter to her deputy A. G. Kravchenko: 'Under pressure from the Cultural Departments [i.e. of the trade unions—M.Z.], APPO TsK [the CC Department of Agitation, Propaganda and the Press—M.Z.] inserted at the last minute a clause on purging into the resolution on library work. [...] The trade unions are demanding that GPP [Glavpolitprosvet—M.Z.] should give them an exhaustive list of books with a bourgeois tendency'.³ Indeed, two weeks before this, *Trud*, the official organ of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (VTsSPS), had published Circular No. 242, 'Learning the lessons of the Dnepropetrovsk wrecking', which gave vent to a barely concealed call for the removal of 'harmful' publications.⁴ Despite Krupskaya's opposition, an anonymous official in Narkompros took the decision to withdraw up to 80% of publications from public libraries.⁵ These purges reached a peak in the summer of 1932. Books removed from libraries included not only literary classics but also works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Everything that happened after this is little known from studies so far published.⁶

¹ *Spravochnik partiinogo rabotnika*, vyp. 7, ch. 2 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930), p. 272.

² Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (henceforth RTs-KhIDNI), f. 17, op. 113, d. 794.

³ N. K. Krupskaya, *O bibliotechnom dele. Sb. trudov*, t. 2 (Moscow, 1983), p. 388.

⁴ *Trud*, 17 October 1929. Also *Krasnyi bibliotekar'*, 1929, no. 10, pp. 7–8.

⁵ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1932, no. 61, p. 6.

⁶ On the purges of the 1920s and 1930s, see: Merle Fainsod, 'Censorship in the USSR—a documented record', *Problems of Communism*, V, March–April 1956, pp. 12–19; Bertram D. Wolfe, 'Krupskaya purges the people's libraries', *Survey*, no. 72, Summer 1969, pp. 141–155; Boris Raymond, *Krupskaya and Soviet Russian librarianship, 1917–1939* (Metuchen, NJ / London, 1979); Boris Korsch, *The permanent purge of Soviet libraries* (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Soviet and East European Research Centre, Research Paper no. 50) (Jerusalem, 1983). The purges of the 1920s are mentioned in these Russian publications: I. L. Benderskii, 'Bibliotechnaia rabota profsoiuzov', in: *Bibliotechnoe delo v period NEPa (1921–1929). Sb. nauchnykh trudov*, ch. 2 (Moscow, 1991), pp. 70, 81, 93; M. Glazkov, 'Poslerevoliutsionnaia bibliotechnaia politika', *Moskovskii zhurnal*, 1993, no. 7, pp. 42–44; L. N. Arifulova, 'Vozvrashchenie "repressirovannykh"

1932–1935

By an irony of fate it was again the trade unions which initiated a new shift in the policy on purging. On 4 September 1932, *Trud* published a VTsSPS decree criticising deviations in library work. Exactly a month later, a decree from the Narkompros Collegium, 'On the review of the book stock of libraries', admitted mistakes and distortions of policy in the purging of libraries. As a result it was seen as necessary 'to end the mass removal of books from libraries immediately'.⁷ The Section for Mass Political Education was ordered to produce within ten days a draft order on procedures for the retention and removal of books. The head of the main censorship administration Glavlit, B. M. Volin, was nominated to lead a commission to prepare a report on book stocks for the Narkompros Collegium within fifteen days. On 16 October, N. V. Mal'tsev—a member of the Narkompros Collegium, also of the Central Control Commission (TsKK) which investigated the morality of Party members, and a former deputy head of the Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Department—sent his superiors a letter describing the barbarity of the purges and criticising the VTsSPS. Mal'tsev also suggested '1) approaching the Central Committee with a proposal to end the purges immediately ... 2) setting up a commission attached to the Central Control Commission Presidium to uncover the real perpetrators of the criminal implementation of the purges, and to prepare measures for liquidating the harmful consequences of this conduct'.⁸

On 23 October 1932 the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, A. S. Bubnov (1880–1949), reported to the Politburo on the 'distortions' in the review of book stocks. The following decision was adopted: 'In view of the unacceptable, essentially anti-Soviet character of the purge of libraries carried out over the last two years, to terminate immediately the purging, transfer and sale of books from all libraries'. In addition it was decided to set up a commission attached to the Presidium of the Central Control Commission 'to expose the real culprits responsible for the criminal conduct of the purges and to prepare measures'.⁹ N. K. Antipov (1894–1938), a member of the Central Control Commission Presidium, compiled a list of members for a 'TsKK commission on libraries', which was formally approved by consultation with Politburo members on 30 October. The commission had 23 members, under

knig', in: *Istoriia, istoriografiia, bibliotechnoe delo. Tezisy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii spetsialistov GPIB, 19–20 maia 1994 g.* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 40–41; and *Sud'by bibliotek dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii: 20–30-e gg. XXv. Konferentsiia 1–3 oktiabria 1996 goda. Tezisy soobshchenii* (St Petersburg, 1996), pp. 18, 27, 82.

⁷ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1932, no. 61, p. 6.

⁸ 'Bol'shevizatsiia knizhnogo fonda. Velikii perelom v bibliotechnom dele' [by A. Vatlin]. *Nezavisimaia gazeta*. Knizhnoe obozrenie 'Ex libris NG', 20 May 1999, p. 16.

⁹ RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 904, l. 4.

the chairmanship of A. S. Enukidze (1877–1937), a member of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) of the USSR and of the Central Control Commission. They included representatives of Narkompros (N. N. Kolotilov, N. V. Mal'tsev and N. K. Krupskaja), of Glavlit (A. A. Sol'ts), and the directors of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, the V. I. Lenin Public Library and Moscow University Library. On 8 November 1932, after a report from the Central Control Commission, the Politburo passed this issue to the Central Committee's Orgburo for final resolution.¹⁰

Narkompros formulated the Party's recommendations in the shape of its Order of 2 February 1933, 'On procedures for the acquisition, retention and removal of books from libraries'. It was recognised as necessary to end the purges and liquidate the restricted holdings (*spetsfondy*) in district (*raion*), town, rural and regional (*oblast'*) libraries.¹¹ For the overall supervision of work on the review of library book stocks, a Central Standing Commission, attached to Glavlit, was set up, headed by B. M. Volin. Analogous commissions were formed under the territory (*krai*) and regional education departments (ONOs).

On 25 February 1933 the All-Russian Conference of Heads of Territory and Regional Educational Departments adopted a resolution, 'On the liquidation of the harmful consequences of purging library book stocks', in which it was acknowledged that the Narkompros decrees on the ending of the purges had not been obeyed.¹² A secret circular of the Central Committee, No. 113/79 of 16 June 1933, signed by the deputy head of the Cultural Propaganda Department, A. Stetskii, stated that efforts to stop the purges had been unsuccessful. Party organs were asked to take the situation in hand.¹³

In individual localities the practice of purges came to an end much later. For example, in the city of Gorky (Nizhnii Novgorod), the Territory Commission for work on the liquidation of mistakes in the review of library book stocks was set up by an order of the head of the education department only on 9 September 1933. The commission was headed by V. E. Babkin, in charge of the local Krailit (censorship office), who had completed two years of primary schooling and political-education courses in librarianship. In one of his circulars to district commissions and censorship organs he rephrased B. Volin's order: '1. The removal of books from libraries is permitted only by special order of the Territory Commission. 2. All instructions from Glavpolitprosvet on the review of book stocks in mass libraries, including those of 1932, are cancelled.

¹⁰ RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 905, ll. 13–14, and d. 906, l. 14.

¹¹ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1933, no. 6, p. 11.

¹² *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1933, no. 7, p. 6.

¹³ RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 120, d. 87, ll. 27–28. For a treatment of this circular, see: M. V. Zelenov, 'K istorii pervonachal'nogo etapa stanovleniia spetskhrana v glavnoi biblioteke Sovetskoi Rossii (1920–30-e gody)', *Solanus*, New series, vol. 12 (1998), pp. 70–71.

3. It is categorically forbidden to use information from the Book Centre on books consigned to pulping for the purpose of removing books from libraries. 4. Under the direction of the Territory and District Commissions, publications which are clearly counterrevolutionary or religious must be withdrawn ... 5. The removal of books solely on the ground that they are printed in the old orthography is prohibited.'¹⁴ The circular also stated that the restricted holdings in libraries must be opened, but that the works of Trotskii and Zinov'ev must not be issued.

Thus Glavlit attempted to monopolise the administration of the purges but not to end them (which was impossible in conditions of constant political and ideological conflict). At the same time, the scale of the purges was substantially reduced. For example, in the entire year of 1933, only 87 book titles published in 1932–1933 were removed on the orders of Glavlit, the Moscow Oblit and Lengorlit.¹⁵ Only three of these were literary works: Bandurskii's *Naperekor*, V. Ramo's *Russkii ostrov*, and A. Tverdiak's *Takaia zhizn'* (a novella, published in the Samara journal *Volzhskaia nov'* No. 1–2, 1933). The remaining titles are partly agricultural and technical in content, and partly political fiction and writing on current affairs. Reasons for withdrawing the latter were either that they were poor translations of Stalin's works, or twists in foreign policy (books by Bratkovskii on Polish fascism were removed), or other ideological grounds.

In spite of all the prohibitions, local purges did not cease. In an attempt to regulate the situation, the state resorted to more forcible methods of direction. On 27 March 1934, a decree by the USSR Central Executive Committee, 'On libraries in the USSR', declared that individuals guilty of wasting library resources would be held answerable under criminal and civil law.¹⁶ After this decree, additional regulations from Sovnarkom and Narkompros were introduced to determine criminal responsibility.¹⁷ On 15 June 1934 the central and local administration of the purges was restructured. The ostensible reason for the restructuring was the continued arbitrary purging, which had to be stopped. It can be conjectured, however, that one of the real reasons for the reorganisation was the concealed rivalry and mutual personal hostility between the head of Glavlit, B. M. Volin, and the People's Commissar for Enlightenment, A. S. Bubnov. The commissions attached to Glavlit and the local education departments, which had been set up in February 1932, were dissolved by an order from the Deputy People's Commissar for Enlightenment,

¹⁴ Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Nizhegorodskoi Oblasti (henceforth GANO), f. 1457, op. 2, d. 5, l. 152.

¹⁵ The list of books is given in a Glavlit Order of February 1934: GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 6, ll. 40–44. A second list of books removed in 1933 contains 85 items; GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, ll. 91–94.

¹⁶ *SZ SSSR*, 1934, no. 18, p. 141.

¹⁷ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1934, no. 34, pp. 13–15.

M. Epshtein. From that point onwards the withdrawal of books was possible only with the permission of the Narkompros Libraries Administration, established in September 1933. All books previously removed had to be returned to the libraries' main collections.¹⁸ On 7 July 1934 the procedure was specified for agreeing lists of books which, in the opinion of librarians, should be withdrawn from libraries. Most importantly, an order from Narkompros consolidated the leading role of the heads of the Territory Education Departments and of Narkompros in ruling on questions affecting the removal of books.¹⁹

It should not be thought, however, that after this Glavlit abandoned its practice of purging books from libraries. Both before and after all Epshtein's instructions, it was issuing orders for withdrawals. Information on the number of books removed is contradictory. A list compiled by Glavlit of publications withdrawn in the whole of 1934 contains only 46 titles, most of them on technical and economic subjects.²⁰ However, an examination of surviving Glavlit orders from April up to December 1934 revealed 73 titles earmarked for removal. Glavlit orders from December 1934 to January 1935 list a further 28 titles.²¹

During this period we see the state and the Party attempting unsuccessfully to put an end to the mass purges of libraries, but (despite declarations that they were to cease completely) simultaneously recognising the need to preserve both the institutionalised direction of ideological processes and the regulation of the information flow. Against the background of continuing uncontrolled purges, an administrative game was being played out in which functions and powers were redistributed between Glavlit and Narkompros. At the outset Narkompros had the upper hand, but at the very end of 1934 the position of Glavlit was strengthened thanks to a decree from the RSFSR Sovnarkom of 26 December which instituted the posting of Glavlit political censors and representatives to publishing-houses, editorial offices and printing works (at the expense of the organisations concerned).²² A new feature appeared in the organisation of purges and the work of Glavlit from 1933 onwards: Glavlit began to compile composite lists of books subject to removal from libraries. Such lists had appeared as early as mid-1924, but then they had been issued very irregularly, had been recommendatory in nature, and had been compiled with the active participation of the Narkompros Libraries Commission as well as Glavlit.

¹⁸ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1934, no. 21, p. 7.

¹⁹ *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1934, no. 22, p. 21.

²⁰ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 94 ob.-95.

²¹ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 6, L., 69, 70, 76, 126, 156, and d. 10, l. 83 and ob.

²² *SU RSFSR*, 1934, no. 31, p. 273.

1935–1937

After the assassination of Kirov in December 1934 there began a whole chain of political trials directed at members of the Party opposition. From that point up to the end of 1937, library purges fully reflected the process of arresting 'enemies of the people', as books and articles by them became subject to withdrawal.

In December 1934 Kamenev and Zinov'ev were arrested in the 'Moscow Centre' case. On 9 January 1935 there began the 'Case of the Leningrad Counter-Revolutionary Zinovievite Group of Safarov, Zalutskii and Others'. On 11 January B. M. Volin issued Order No. 85/s, directed not only to the local censorship organs but also to the Libraries Administration of Narkompros: 'I order the removal of books by Zinov'ev, Kamenev and Safarov from all Narkompros, military, trade-union, institutional and other libraries'.²³ On 15 February 1935 Order No. 40 appeared, specifying the publications to be removed: 'a) works entirely by Trotskii, Zinov'ev, Kamenev, Safarov and other convicted Trotskyites and Zinovievites; b) collective works, textbooks or anthologies published up to 1931, and as instructional works or mass literature, under the editorship of those individuals or containing articles or extracts written by them; c) transparencies, leaflets or posters with pictures of those individuals, or excerpts (quotations) from their works, and also their portraits . . .'. The same order listed those publications not subject to removal; 'a) the proceedings of Soviet, Party, trade-union and other congresses and conferences (stenographic records) which contain speeches or reports by those individuals; b) volumes of the works of V. I. Lenin . . . and analogous materials (for example, the *Leninskie sborniki*) . . . c) newspapers and journals containing articles by those individuals; d) publications issued under the editorship of those individuals but not regarded as dubious by the censorship . . .'.²⁴ This Glavlit order was reinforced by a Party circular from the Orgburo of the Central Committee.²⁵

Everywhere questions arose over how the new policy was to be implemented. What should be done with editions of Lenin which had been edited by Kamenev? With journals containing articles by any of the multitude of 'enemies of the people'? With the reminiscences of Lenin which had been written by Bukharin, Trotskii and others?²⁶ On 4 April in a letter to Glavlit, the head of the Gorky Krailit sought advice on whether to withdraw works by Riazanov, Rubin, Preobrazhenskii, Slutskii, Volosevich, Mad'iar, Vardin and

²³ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 29.

²⁴ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 41–41 ob.

²⁵ See: *Istoriia sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury. Dokumenty i kommentarii* (Moscow, ROSSPEN, 1997), p. 64.

²⁶ For a description of the situation in Smolensk resulting from this circular, see: Merle Fainsod (note 6), p. 18.

Shliapnikov; and referring to works on Lenin he noted: 'There is such a large quantity of questionable publications that, if they are all taken away, there will be hardly anything left in the libraries'.²⁷ Volin replied to the Gorky censor on 8 April: 'Works by Riazanov, Rubin, Slepko, Mad'iar, Vardin, Kondrat'ev, Chaianov, Groman, Sukhanov and Preobrazhenskii must be withdrawn'.²⁸ But in a letter of 13 April to the Gorky Krailit, Volin crossed out Riazanov's name with his own hand from the list of forbidden authors.²⁹

Discrepancies in the list of authors whose books were to be removed indicate Glavlit's inability to resolve this most important political issue. Thus, in a letter of 8 April to A. Andreev, a secretary of the Central Committee, Volin asked for advice on whether to remove works published before 1931 in which enemies of the people were mentioned.³⁰ The answer appears to have been in the negative, because in a circular of 10 April Volin was already writing: '1. General purges of libraries on the basis of Order No. 40 should not be carried out. 2. A broad interpretation of Order No. 40 is not permitted'.³¹ Then on 13 April he reassured his local censors: 'A detailed list of publications subject to withdrawal will be issued shortly'.³² And indeed, Circular No. 1119 of 26 May contained a list of seven titles liable to withdrawal.³³

Alongside organisational preparations for the 'Kremlin Case' (June 1935), which involved many figures in the Bolshevik leadership, ideological preparations were also put in hand. A Central Committee decree of 13 June 1935, 'On propaganda work in the immediate future',³⁴ recommended studying the history of the Party's struggle against anti-Party groupings. On the following day, the Orgburo of the Central Committee produced a list of books which were to be removed from libraries so that study of the internal Party struggle could follow the line required. On 16 June, after securing the approval of several members of the Politburo, a resolution was adopted 'On the removal of counter-revolutionary Zinovievite-Trotskyist publications', and a proposed list of books was approved.³⁵ In pursuance of this, on 19 June 1935 (the next working day at Glavlit), Volin signed—and on 21 June his secretariat drew up—Glavlit Order No. 1323/ss, in which it was stated that unsupervised purges were being carried out in libraries. General purging was therefore to be

²⁷ GANO, f. 1457, op. 1, d. 3, l. 124 ob.

²⁸ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 85.

²⁹ GANO (note 28), l. 86.

³⁰ *Istoriia sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury* (note 25), p. 477.

³¹ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 84.

³² GANO (note 31), l. 86.

³³ GANO (note 31), l. 87.

³⁴ *KPSS v rezoliutsiakh i resheniiakh s"ezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK*, izd. 9, t. 6 (Moscow, 1985), p. 234.

³⁵ RTsKhIDNI, f. 17, op. 3, d. 965, ll. 63–64.

stopped, and instead only books on Glavlit lists were to be withdrawn.³⁶

The first list of political literature for withdrawal was appended to this Order. It included all Trotskii's books; 11 books by Zinov'ev; three by Shliapnikov on the history of 1917; books on Party history (by V. Nevskii, V. Volosovich, B. Vardin and M. Iavorskii); theoretical works on Leninism by P. Zatlutskii, N. Maiorskii, G. Safarov and A. Slepko; and several books by G. Preobrazhenskii In all, 43 books were listed.³⁷

Order No. 1323/ss set up a new procedure for the withdrawal of publications which abolished the procedure previously in force, under which withdrawals were made under the direction of the Libraries Administration of Narkompros and its local departments in the ONOs. From now on the purges were to be carried out by the Krailit or Oblit head or his deputy in conjunction with an NKVD representative, and at the district level by a representative of the Krailit or Oblit jointly with a representative from the district NKVD. This led to clashes of departmental interests locally and to discontent among library staff. For example, in 1936 books were removed from the Kozel'sk District Library by a member of the NKVD without informing the library director or the local education department. The number and identity of the books taken by the NKVD is not known.³⁸ No protests could halt the orgy of withdrawals or the transfer of books to the classification 'secret'. Local censorship staff simply could not understand which of Trotskii's works were to be removed, and which not. The head of the Kulebaki Railit requested the head of the Gorky Krailit to tell him whether Lur'e's book *Krasnaia Lodz'* should be removed, because someone named Lur'e had been arrested in Moscow.³⁹ The next question was this: should Trotskyist-Zinovievite publications be confiscated from the personal collections of Communist Party members, and if so, how? The answer was brief: 'The Glavlit order does not apply to personal collections'.⁴⁰ The deluge of queries from local staff prompted Glavlit to send out supplementary clarifications.⁴¹ A secret instruction of 11 August 1935 from the new head of Glavlit, S. B. Ingulov, ordered those in charge of the Moscow and Leningrad censorships to remove to the closed collections (*spetskhrany*) anthologies and collective works containing articles by Trotskii, Zinov'ev and Kamenev.⁴²

Further lists of publications to be withdrawn appeared in 1935. Circular No. 1850/ss of 10 September (sent out on 14 September) directed the removal of visual aids on the history of the Party which contained pictures of Trotskii,

³⁶ Fainsod (note 6), p. 18. For the same, without mention of the latter publication, see Korsch (note 6), pp. 30–31. I am grateful to R. F. Byrnes for the reference to this book.

³⁷ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, l. 99.

³⁸ Fainsod (note 6), p. 19.

³⁹ GANO, f. 1457, op. 1, d. 3, l. 171.

⁴⁰ GANO (note 39), l. 172.

⁴¹ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 10, ll. 115–116.

⁴² For mention of this, see GANO (note 41), l. 134.

Kamenev or Zinov'ev, or illustrated the People's Will (Narodnaia Volia) terror of the nineteenth century.⁴³ Instruction No. 2008 of 16 October listed 29 books to be withdrawn.⁴⁴ In all, at least 100 book titles were removed during 1935 in response to Glavlit circulars and instructions. At the same time, however, separate lists were being drawn up by Narkompros, some of which were published in *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*. A peculiarity of these removals was that until May 1935 Narkompros was recommending only the obliteration of references to 'harmful authors' in the text of school books and programmes—but after May it ordered such books to be removed completely.⁴⁵ Two copies of all books withdrawn in 1935 were sent to closed library collections.

In 1936 the removal of foreign publications from Soviet libraries was begun. Order No. 53/s declared that it was necessary to withdraw books and journals which had been brought into the USSR, and also to cut out of them any articles which mentioned undesirable names or criticised the Soviet system. A decree from Sovnarkom SSSR on 21 January, 'On controlling the import of foreign publications into the USSR', set up a centralised control system for which the head of Glavlit was responsible.⁴⁶ At the same time it was also ruled that the withdrawal of foreign publications (and the excision of individual articles and pages from them) should not apply to scholarly and technical works but only to political and socio-economic publications.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, these decrees were flouted even by Glavlit itself. For example, Academician V. I. Vernadskii pointed out in a letter to V. M. Molotov, the Chairman of Sovnarkom, that articles had been systematically cut out of the London journal *Nature* from the summer of 1935 onwards. This was confirmed by N. P. Gorbunov, Permanent Secretary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. As a consequence, at the beginning of March 1936, Sovnarkom ordered the Foreign Censorship Department of Glavlit not to permit abuses and not to cut articles out of foreign journals. Glavlit acceded to these demands, although it did not agree with them.⁴⁸

The purging of libraries was closely linked with the policy lines followed by the Central Committee of the Party. For example, after the Central Committee decree 'On educational distortions in the Narkompros system',⁴⁹ the censorship organs received lists totalling 121 titles of textbooks and instructional works on education, published from 1926 onwards, which were to be

⁴³ GANO (note 41), l. 133; and op. 2, d. 18, l. 6 ob.

⁴⁴ GANO (note 41), l. 142–143.

⁴⁵ See: *Biulleten' Narkomprosa*, 1935, no. 8, pp. 6, 15; no. 9, p. 7; no. 11, pp. 21, 23; no. 14, p. 6; no. 17, p. 11; and no. 19, p. 8.

⁴⁶ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 18, l. 1.

⁴⁷ Clarification of this followed in Glavlit Order No. 133/s of 26 January. See GANO (note 46), l. 2.

⁴⁸ *Istochnik*, 1996, no. 3, pp. 141–145.

⁴⁹ *KPSS v rezoliutsiakh* . . . (note 34), t. 6, pp. 364–367.

removed.⁵⁰

Up to October 1936 Glavlit had issued orders for the withdrawal of individual books;⁵¹ but on 7 October the head of Glavlit published Order No. 105/s, in which it was stated: 'The removal from libraries of books, pamphlets and other publications, except in conformity with the lists circulated by Glavlit, is to cease immediately. However, this regulation does not apply to outdated, worn-out and superfluous publications consigned to pulping by libraries themselves in the course of their normal work'.⁵² Appended to the order was an 'Instruction on the procedure for withdrawing from public libraries and the book trade network the works of authors connected with counter-revolutionary Trotskyist-Zinovievite terrorist organisations', which required that the authors' names and the titles of books removed should be erased from all library lists and catalogues.⁵³ In addition, besides the Instruction, attached to the order was 'List No. 1 of authors whose books and pamphlets are subject to withdrawal ...'. The list enumerated 23 authors, all of whose books were to be removed: G. Zinov'ev, L. Kamenev, G. Evdokimov, I. Bakaev, S. Mrachkovskii, V. Ter-Vaganian, I. Smirnov, I. Reingol'd, R. Pikel', M. I. Lur'e, I. Vardin, N. Varev, V. Nevskii, G. Sokol'nikov, G. Piatakov, Ia. Sten, G. Safarov, K. El'vov, G. Zaidel', V. Lominadze, A. Slepko, V. Astrov and L. Shatskin.⁵⁴ The majority of them had been implicated in the case of the 'Anti-Soviet Combined Trotskyist-Zinovievite Centre' of August 1936, while others had been arrested in 1935 in connection with other political trials.

On 16 October 1936 there appeared Order No. 108/s on the removal of 'outdated publications without scholarly or political value and which also frequently distort in a political sense the subjects with which they deal'.⁵⁵ To the order were appended two lists of books subject to withdrawal. 'List No. 1 of outdated publications subject to withdrawal ...' contained 96 items. Of these, 36 were books on the history of Russia and of the Russian revolutionary movement. The editor of some of these, and author of forewords to them, was the very eminent historian and Old Bolshevik V. I. Nevskii, who had been arrested in February 1935. Other books were to be withdrawn because they had forewords written by Trotskii, Slepko, Kamenev, Sokol'nikov and Pikel'. Also to be removed were biographies of Lenin and other books edited by Kamenev and Zinov'ev, and by the historians Zaidel' and Fridliand, also arrested by this time. Among the works listed can be found memoirs mentioning Trotskii's

⁵⁰ GANO, f. 1457, op. 2, d. 18, l. 17.

⁵¹ See for example Order No. 233/s of 11 February on the removal of the illustrated work *Istoriia VKP(b)* published by the Museum of the Revolution: GANO (note 50), l. 5.

⁵² GANO (note 50), l. 36.

⁵³ GANO (note 50), l. 38–40.

⁵⁴ GANO (note 50), l. 40.

⁵⁵ GANO (note 50), l. 43.

name, and also the book *12 portretov* by the former head of Glavlit, B. Volin.⁵⁶ Only fourteen of the books can be described as literary works; they were to be removed for the same reasons: forewords or editing by enemies of the people.

'List No. 2 of collective works and anthologies subject to withdrawal . . .', attached to Order No. 108, contained 128 titles. Twenty-five of these were books on the history of Russia and the Party under the editorship of Nevskii, Slepko and others.⁵⁷ Only seven items were literary in character. All the books were published in the early 1920s.

Order No. 120/s appeared on 15 November 1936, and attached to it was 'List No. 3', containing 177 titles by 38 authors. There were books on philosophy, history, the theoretical aspects of Marxism (Leninism), economics and pedagogics. Notable among them were 20 books by V. D. Vilenskii-Sibiriakov; A. V. Galkin's *Smuta*; two books on the history of the year 1905 by G. E. Gorbachev; four books by V. M. Dalin including two on the history of France; works by S. M. Zaks-Gladnev, F. Kiparisov, L. O. Leonidov, G. Lelevich and A. Malyshev; A. Morizet on Lenin and Trotskii; 23 books by I. Smilga; and all the books written by M. P. Tomskii. There are only three authors of literary works: G. Lelevich (closely associated with the Party leadership); G. O. Serebriakova on the French Revolution and Marx; and Iu. M. Slavinskii on the fine arts. All the remaining books fall into the category of political writing.⁵⁸

The removal of 'politically outdated publications' naturally gave rise to difficulties. Many libraries were not notified; in others the accession records did not represent the actual holdings; in yet others the issue of books to readers had not been recorded and the removals demanded were therefore difficult to carry out. To help the censorship organs, Party organisations assigned Communists who assisted in removing books on the lists, supplementing these according to their own judgement and from lists compiled by the local censorship organs. For example, books withdrawn in Gorky included *Soratzniki o Kalinine*; F. David's *Kak Gitler prishel k vlasti*; Marx and Engels's *Communist manifesto*; Marx's *The class struggle in France*; *Socialism and war* by Lenin and Zinov'ev in English (described as an 'English textbook'); *Istoriia revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia*, in 11 volumes, edited by M. N. Pokrovskii; and others . . .⁵⁹ In mid-December 1936 Glavlit compiled 'Report No. 1 on the progress of withdrawals . . .' for November 1936. 23,800 libraries had been checked, from which 123,845 books had been removed. In Moscow the number was 52,573, in Leningrad 14,520, in Gorky 1,770, in Voronezh 887, and so on.⁶⁰

It is very difficult, for several reasons, to reconstruct the conduct of library

⁵⁶ GANO (note 50), l. 44–47.

⁵⁷ GANO (note 50), l. 48–51.

⁵⁸ GANO (note 50), l. 64–70.

⁵⁹ GANO, f. 1457, op. 1, d. 7, ll. 59–60, 76, 101, 155.

⁶⁰ GANO (note 59), l. 81–82.

purges in 1937. Above all, following a Glavlit order of 20 July 1938, all lists of books subject to withdrawal had to be destroyed—thus concealing the traces of crimes, perhaps for ever.⁶¹ Only Russian muddle, and the negligence of local censors who did not fully comply with this order, have made it possible for us to find some of the Glavlit circulars in local archives. Secondly, in 1937—regardless of all Glavlit's warnings about removing only those books on its own lists—local censorships also compiled their lists of books to be destroyed. Besides this, orders from the Book Centre of the Combined State Publishing House (KOGIZ), which issued instructions on the removal of books from bookshops, were extended in 1937 to apply to libraries.⁶² However, hardly any of these orders for 1936–1937 have survived. We shall not, therefore, be able to construct a complete picture; but it is possible to sketch in the main features of such a picture, thanks to some surviving Glavlit regulations and to its reports.

The Glavlit lists show 9,740 book titles removed, the KOGIZ lists 850 titles, and 2,100 titles were removed by staff of the central Moscow libraries.⁶³ One of Glavlit's reports states that 'In 1937, in the national republics alone, 681 titles were incorrectly removed: 197 titles of Marxist-Leninist classics and Party resolutions, 351 textbook titles, 24 titles of literary classics and nine titles of scientific and technical literature'.⁶⁴ Some of these publications were placed in closed collections, and some were sent to salvage collectors for pulping. This is how the contents of the closed collections at the State Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library are described by their chief curator: 'Between 1935 and 1938, over 49,000 copies of Russian and Soviet publications were transferred from the main stock to the closed collections. They were predominantly (about 80 per cent) publications on social and political subjects, chiefly books on Party history, the revolutionary movement and the founding of the Soviet state, and also mass-agitation and instructional works. Works in the humanities (philology, art, librarianship, literature) formed a much smaller proportion (17 per cent), and the remaining subject areas (natural sciences, agriculture, military studies, technology) 5 per cent'.⁶⁵

The disappearance of Marxist-Leninist classics from libraries prompted Glavlit to issue Circular No. 2 of 21 January 1937, which prohibited the

⁶¹ GANO, f. 4254, op. 3, d. 9, l. 32.

⁶² GANO (note 61), d. 2, l. 16.

⁶³ *Istoriia sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury* (note 25), p. 311.

⁶⁴ Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (henceforth GARF), f. 9425, op. 1, d. 5, l. 30.

⁶⁵ S. F. Varlamova, 'Spetskhran RNB: proshloe i nastoiashchee', *Bibliotekovedenie*, 1993, no. 2, p. 77. She points out elsewhere that the first surviving official document on the closed collections of the State Public Library is dated 1 June 1935. This is more than strange. See: S. F. Varlamova, 'K istorii sozdaniia i razvitiia spetsfondov GPB im. Saltykova-Shchedrina', in: *Tsenzura v tsarskoi Rossii i Sovetskom Soiuzie. Materialy konferentsii 24–27 maia 1993 g.* (Moscow, Rudomino, 1995), p. 162.

removal of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin, even if they contained forewords written by 'enemies of the people'.⁶⁶ But mass purges were being carried out with such a surge of energy that Ingulov was obliged to demand, in his Order No. 683/s of 3 April, that the local censorship organs should be guided in removals only by Glavlit's lists and not by their own initiative.⁶⁷ Ingulov repeated this in his Order No. 405 of 5 June, in which the withdrawal of literary classics was forbidden.⁶⁸ But even after this, local censorship organs were still compiling their own lists of books for removal.⁶⁹ Even the new head of the Gorky Oblit, Shal'nov, reprimanded an inspector, Mishukov, in November 1937 for confirming lists for withdrawal which did not correspond with those of Glavlit.⁷⁰

In July Glavlit made it clear to its local organs that stenographic reports of Party congresses and conferences were not to be removed, and nor was the first volume of *Istoriia grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR*.⁷¹ Regardless of this, the decisions of the 1935 Central Committee plenums, the resolutions of the Seventeenth Party Congress and other titles were removed from bookshops in Gorky, causing not only bewilderment but protests from book-trade staff.⁷² Then a telegram from Glavlit ordered the withdrawal of all the textbooks by V. Knorin and N. Popov on the history of the Party (to be replaced by the textbooks by E. Iaroslavskii, which were ordered to be returned to libraries).⁷³ The conduct of the mass purges caused the People's Commissariat of Finance to place two inspectors in the local censorship organs to check on the situation of libraries.⁷⁴

In September 1937, following Circular No. 2061/s, removals took place of books by, and portraits of, the Party and government figures Antonov-Ovseenko, Ia. A. Iakovlev, E. I. Kviring, V. Osinskii-Obolenskii, A. S. Bubnov, and the writers Boris Pil'niak and Artem Veselyi.⁷⁵

The constant entreaties from the head of Glavlit to avoid independent purges bear witness to the weakness of the central administrative apparatus, and also to the power of the semi-educated (or completely uneducated) heads of the local censorship organs. For example, in 1938 eight per cent of the staff in Glavlit's local organs had a higher education, 67.7 per cent had a full

⁶⁶ GANO, f. 4254, op. 1, d. 3, l. 17.

⁶⁷ GANO (note 66), l. 39.

⁶⁸ GANO, f. 4254, op. 3, d. 2, l. 70–71.

⁶⁹ GANO (note 68), d. 5, l. 142.

⁷⁰ GANO (note 68), d. 5, l. 303.

⁷¹ GANO (note 68), d. 3, l. 13.

⁷² GANO (note 68), d. 7, l. 65.

⁷³ GANO (note 68), d. 3, l. 10.

⁷⁴ For mention of this decree of 9 June 1937, see: GANO (note 68), d. 7, l. 90.

⁷⁵ GANO, f. 4254, op. 1, d. 3, l. 81.

or partial secondary education, and 24.3 per cent primary education only.⁷⁶ In the Ordzhonikidze Krailit, 60 of the 81 censors had only primary education.⁷⁷ The Central Committee's Department of Press and Publishing had attempted to deal with the staffing problems of Glavlit throughout 1936 and to strengthen its influence over that agency, but the Politburo gave no attention to all the requests from the Central Committee Secretariat to reorganise Glavlit's work. Then B. Tal' (1898–1938), who headed the CC Department of Press and Publishing in 1937, decided to act independently: in August 1937 he sent out Letter No. 200A on the subject of strengthening the staffs of Glavlit and the local censorship organs.⁷⁸ It was recommendatory in character, and had no practical result except Tal's departure from the Department, which was taken over by L. Z. Mekhlis (1889–1953), a former aide to Stalin and head of the Secret Department of the CC Secretariat. After an approach by him to Stalin, an Orgburo resolution of 21 October 1937 placed newspaper censors on the *nomenklatura* of Party organisations, and in November Mekhlis succeeded in carrying out a mass purge of the Glavlit apparat. On 9 December 1937 the Central Committee ordered Glavlit 'to liquidate the practice of arbitrary mass withdrawals of publications by Glavlit itself, which border on sabotage; to liquidate the harmful practice of issuing, in mass print-runs for general use, lists of authors whose works are subject to withdrawal; and to prohibit the censorship organs from removing publications in future without the permission of the Central Committee of the Party, or—in the case of local authors published by local publishing-houses—without the permission of the Obkom, Kraikom or the Central Committees of the National Communist Parties'.⁷⁹

As a temporary replacement for Ingulov, the head of Glavlit, who was repressed, his deputy A. A. Samokhvalov was installed. On 22 December 1937, in a special instruction, he forbade the withdrawal of books on lists, and also—on 28 December—those on any separate Glavlit circulars which had been sent out up to 17 December.⁸⁰ On 26 December the acting head of Glavlit banned KOGIZ from compiling lists of books for removal; and on the following day he sent out Order No. 2443/s to local Glavlit organs in which he described the system of book removals as hostile, and gave notice that new lists for the discarding of books from libraries would be confirmed by the Central Committee.⁸¹ Samokhvalov proposed to the Central Committee that books should

⁷⁶ GARF, f. 9245, op. 1, d. 5, l. 11.

⁷⁷ GARF (note 76), d. 5, l. 11.

⁷⁸ GANO (note 68), l. 108.

⁷⁹ GARF (note 76), l. 30.

⁸⁰ GANO (note 68), d. 3, ll. 34, 37.

⁸¹ GANO (note 75), ll. 89–90.

not be withdrawn even if their authors (or editors) had been arrested.⁸² This policy did not suit the Central Committee. At the request of the new head of the CC's Department of the Press, A. Nikitin, the Politburo on 31 January 1938 appointed a new head of Glavlit, N. G. Sadchikov (1904–?). From that moment a new period began in the history of library purges.

The new leadership at Glavlit and the change in the system for removing books (now exclusively with the permission of the Central Committee) affected not so much the character as the volume of the purging, which increased sharply. In 1938–1939, 199 orders appeared for the removal of books, prohibiting 1,860 authors (with 7,809 book titles), 4,512 individual works, 2,833 collective works (*sborniki*), and 1,299 titles to be sent for pulping and recycling. In these two years, a total of 24,138,799 book copies were removed from libraries and bookselling organisations and destroyed. In 1940, 75 orders for book withdrawals were issued, prohibiting 362 authors (all works), 3,700 individual books, and listing 757 titles for pulping (not for transfer to closed collections).⁸³

Two conclusions suggest themselves after reviewing this material. The library purges of 1932–34 were linked with the political trials to a lesser degree than the purges of 1935–37, which almost completely reflected the activity of the punitive organs. The participation of local censorship organs and book-selling organisations in the library purges, and the low educational level of those compiling the lists of books for removal, indicate that the purges were related not only to the political actions of the state and the Party, but also to the level of cultural development and in particular to the mythological mind-set which constantly gave birth to 'enemies' in its perception of social relations.

Hence, in the years 1935–37 two tendencies are evident in the policy on purges: firstly, the struggle by the state, in the shape of Glavlit, to control the process of removing publications from libraries; and secondly, the preservation of a certain degree of independence by other state institutions (primarily KOGIZ, Narkompros, the local NKVD organs and the libraries) in the formation of policy on removals. The powers of the state were increased at the very end of 1937, when the Central Committee of the Party (representing state power for all practical purposes) acquired the monopoly right to confirm—and hence in effect to draw up—the lists of books to be withdrawn. From that point Glavlit became merely the direct executor, the administrative lever of the Party, losing any trace of autonomy in the process. The strengthening of the state's role in the purging policy was a general tendency from 1932 onwards, and assumed its organisational shape from 1938.

Some other important features should be noted which characterise not only

⁸² *Istoriia sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury* (note 25), p. 488.

⁸³ GARF (note 76), l. 33, 66, 87.

the period from 1932 to 1937, but also the entire policy on purges. The removal of unwelcome 'hostile' publications from libraries has been a very important function of the state which found expression in pre-Revolutionary Russia too. From 1917 onwards this function was also performed in one way or another by the Communist Party. This brought into existence a number of organisations, state in form but Party in essence, notably Glavlit, the Narkompros Libraries Commission, and others. Moreover, the purges themselves and their organisers reflected a variety of contributory factors which are not necessarily interlinked: the educational system, Party propaganda, the preservation of state secrets, political repression, foreign policy, the redistribution of powers between various administrative structures But common to all was this understanding: the change, both organisational and political, in social consciousness, and the scientific and ideological differentiation between what is 'our own' and what is 'alien' or 'other'. This is at the root of the thinking of all those people, insofar as it is linked with fundamental intellectual processes of figurative (mythological) and rationalist thinking. It may be asserted that, from 1932 onwards, the process of rationalising social consciousness ripened against the background of a variety of mythologies. This process occurs in waves, reaching an apogee and then transmuting into its direct negation. It can be observed in the second half of the nineteenth century (the period ending with the Revolution of 1917); and in 1921–1932 (the period ending with the orgy of the 'reverse turn' and the rejection of radical measures for the state regulation of social relations). Similar processes, beginning in 1932, ended with Khrushchev's 'Thaw'; Brezhnev's rationalisation led to Gorbachev's perestroika; and the history of the 1920s tells us the direction in which the measures for strengthening the state in present-day Russia are heading.

In the 1930s the rationalisation of social consciousness was visible in the socialisation of the humanities (in particular of socio-political literature), which led to the strengthening and centralisation of state (Party) influence on the process of removing from libraries those books which were alien to the Bolshevik leadership of the country. With the help of these purges, the country's leadership and the masses themselves realised themselves as citizens of a new state, and brought this new (and socialist) state about. Yet we still cannot speak without pain of the deformed shapes which this process of self-realisation has assumed.

Russian Emigré Bibliography: Another Look^{*}

Mark Kulikowski

Since the appearance of my second article on Russian emigré bibliography in 1995, a number of distinct changes in the field have occurred which warrant our attention.¹ These changes mark in some ways a new phase in the study of this subject. First and foremost, it is clear that since 1995 Russian emigré publications have ceased to be seen as exotic, remote and tinged with suspicion. Given the huge amount of material which has appeared, there is no doubt that Russian emigré publications are now seen as an integral part of the twentieth-century Russian cultural experience.² Second, while bibliographic work continues and will be dealt with below, we see a new emphasis on archival, encyclopedic and union catalogue coverage of emigré materials.³ And yet some fundamental, as well as some new, questions concerning these publications remain unanswered.

Surveys of the Field

Without a doubt the best overview of Russian emigré publishing and bibliography was done by G. V. Mikheeva, I. A. Shomrakova, P. N. Bazanov and I. L. Polotovskaia in their *Izdatel'skoe i bibliograficheskoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia: uchebnoe posobie*.⁴ Up-to-date, wide in scope and interesting, it covers Russian emigré publishing and bibliography in chronological order, as well as dealing with the White movement. The book's appearance indicates not only the large (and growing) work on this subject, but also the fact that such studies

^{*} The author would like to acknowledge the following for their assistance in preparing this article: Dr Christine Thomas, Mr Thomas Larson, the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office, State University of New York, College at Oswego, and the staff of Olin Library, Cornell University. The author assumes sole responsibility for any errors.

¹ The second instalment of this work, 'The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917: an update', *Solanus*, New series, 9 (1995), pp. 15–23, was preceded by the original work on this subject, my 'A Neglected Source: the Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917', *Solanus*, New series, 3 (1989), pp. 98–102.

² The amount of material on Russian emigré publications, let alone Russian emigrés themselves, is staggering. This article makes no claim of being comprehensive. Rather, it tries to highlight work done in many areas. Undoubtedly there are items of which the author is unaware or unable to consult. In addition a number of works published before 1995 are included in this survey.

³ A topic not dealt with in this article is the reprinting of Russian emigré literature or memoirs. The number of such items is immense. Representative examples include *Literatura russkogo zarubezh'ia: antologii* (Moscow: Kniga, 1990–), and T. P. Buslakova (comp.), *Russkii Parizh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU, 1998).

⁴ G. V. Mikheeva, I. A. Shomrakova, P. N. Bazanov and I. L. Polotovskaia, *Izdatel'skoe i bibliograficheskoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia: uchebnoe posobie* (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet kul'tury, 1999).

are now in the mainstream. Other briefer overviews have been published by D. M. Shakhovskoi, E. Shtein and I. L. Polotovskaia.⁵

Universal Bibliography

The sole work attempting to cover all aspects of Russian emigré publishing worldwide was T. I. Adrianova *et al.* (comps.), *Russkoe zarubezh'e*.⁶ This initial volume covers both books and periodicals. Ukrainian and Belorussian emigré material is also included. Listed in alphabetical order, it includes 1583 items as well as name and geographical indexes. It is an outstanding piece of work which one hopes will continue to act as a model for other libraries.

Bibliography of Books

Two works deal with emigré books. The first, E. A. Akimova *et al.* (comps.), *Kniga russkogo zarubezh'ia v sobranii Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki 1918–1991: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*⁷ is the first of a multi-volume project. This volume (covering the letters A–K) is arranged alphabetically by author and includes 3078 entries. When possible the contents of the volumes are described. Also a list of 39 bibliographical works is appended. A more narrowly focused work is Emmanuil Shtein's *Russkaia pechat' lagerei 'DI-PI'*.⁸ Based on the holdings of Columbia University, it takes a rather different approach to bibliography. Rather than traditional bibliographical entries, Shtein has reproduced and arranged in alphabetical order the covers/title pages of 192 books produced in the camps. In addition, he lists some 242 journals and newspapers and reproduces a list of 67 titles which appeared in the journal *Posev*. Important and interesting, the work suffers from a lack of indexes.

⁵ D. M. Shakhovskoi, 'Polozhenie istochnikovedeniia istorii i literatury russkoi emigratsii: opyt obzora', in *Cahiers de l'Émigration russe* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1994), Volume 1, pp. 71–96 (Cultures & Sociétés de l'Est, 17). This work was reprinted under the title 'Bibliografiia russkogo zarubezh'ia', in *Istoriia i istoriki* (Moscow: Nauka, 1995), pp. 389–410. E. Shtein, 'Posledovateli Mikhaila Shatova', *Al'manakh Panorama* (Los Angeles, California), no. 777, 28 Feb.–5 March 1996, p. 39. I. L. Polotovskaia, 'Tsentry bibliografirovaniia izdanii russkogo zarubezh'ia', *Bibliografiia*, 1997, no. 4, pp. 139–152, and I. L. Polotovskaia, 'Inostrannye i otechestvennye tsentry informatsii ob izdaniiax russkogo zarubezh'ia', pp. 281–286 of P. A. Podbolotov (ed.), *Nauka i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia akademiia kul'tury, 1997) (Sbornik nauchnykh trudov SPbGAK, t. 146).

⁶ T. I. Adrianov *et al.* (comps.), *Russkoe zarubezh'e. Katalog izdanii, postupivshikh v Rossiiskuiu natsional'nuiu biblioteku v 1991–1997*, vypusk 1 (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, 1997).

⁷ E. A. Akimova *et al.* (comps.), *Kniga russkogo zarubezh'ia v sobranii Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki 1918–1991: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, chast' 1 (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Russkogo khristianskogo gumanitarnogo instituta, 1997) (Knizhnyi mir Rossii, vypusk 4). For a review of this volume, see *Solanus*, New series, 13 (1999), pp. 108–109.

⁸ E. Shtein, *Russkaia pechat' lagerei 'DI-PI'* (Orange, Connecticut: Antiquary, 1993). For reviews see *Novyi Zhurnal*, no. 197, 1994, pp. 362–373, and *Posev*, 1995, no. 6, pp. 113–114.

Encyclopedias

Only one work published recently attempts to provide encyclopedic biographic coverage of prominent Russian emigrés in a variety of fields. Entitled *Russkoe zarubezh'e: zolotaia kniga emigratsii*,⁹ it focuses on the first third of the twentieth century. Organized alphabetically, it deals with over four hundred individuals. Each entry is signed, and provides extensive biographical information on the person as well as a list of their publications and archival collections. The work is quite useful as a starting-point for information on artists, writers, scientists, clergy and others. One hopes this publication will be continued to cover the remainder of the century.

Specialized Bibliographies

Two types of specialized bibliographies have appeared in recent years. The first deals with Russian publications appearing in particular places. Heading the list of such works is Zdeňka Rachůvková, Michaela Řeháková and Jiří Vacek's *Práce ruské, ukrajinské a běloruské emigrace vydané v Československu 1918–1945*.¹⁰ This enormous work, arranged alphabetically, covers virtually all printed work published during this period. Once completed, it will undoubtedly be one of the best bibliographies connected to a particular country. O. Figurnova's *Russkaia pechat' v Estonii 1918–1940*¹¹ is a rather unusual work. It consists of two parts. The first is made up of sections devoted to books, journals and newspapers. Arranged alphabetically and with extensive bibliographical information about the journals and newspapers, the work covers some 516 items. This is followed by an alphabetical listing of 298 Russian societies and associations in Estonia, complete with history and cross-listing. The second section is an alphabetical listing of authors (some with biographical data) and their works appearing in Russian publications issued in Estonia. Name, publisher and issuing body indexes provide extensive coverage. Although differing in some respects, these two publications show the kind of work that can (and should) be done with a national focus. Continuing with this geographic theme, we turn to more limited works such as A. B. Nikanorov's 'Predvaritel'nyi spisok periodicheskikh

⁹ *Russkoe zarubezh'e. Zolotaia kniga emigratsii. Pervaia tret' XX veka. Entsiklopedicheskii biograficheskii slovar'* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1997). Reviewed in *Russkaia Mysl'*, no. 4168, 3–9 April 1997, pp. 17–18.

¹⁰ Zdeňka Rachůvková, Michaela Řeháková and Jiří Vacek, *Práce ruské, ukrajinské a běloruské emigrace vydané v Československu 1918–1945* (Prague: Národní Knihovna České Republiky, 1996–). Reviewed in *Russkaia Mysl'*, no. 4163, 27 February–5 March 1997, p. 12, and *Solanus*, New series, 12 (1998), pp. 119–122.

¹¹ Ol'ga Figurnova, *Russkaia pechat' v Estonii 1918–1940. Bio-bibliograficheskie i spravocnyye materialy k izucheniiu kul'turnoi zhizni russkoi emigratsii* (Moscow: IMLI-'Nasledie', 1998).

izdanii russkogo zarubezh'ia v Latvii i Estonii',¹² A. Arsen'ev's 'Izbrannaia bibliografiia trudov na obshchie temy zhizni i deiatel'nosti', dealing with Yugoslavia,¹³ A. A. Khisamutdinov's 'Detskaia emigrantskaia literatura v Kitae',¹⁴ V. F. Pecheritsa's 'Literatura vostochnogo zarubezh'ia',¹⁵ and G. B. Kiseleva's 'Bibliograficheskaia deiatel'nost' Tsentral'noi Biblioteki Kitaiskoi Vostochnoi Zheleznoi Dorogi (TsB KVZhD)'.¹⁶

The other type of specialized bibliography deals with Russian emigré literature. The third updated edition of Gleb Struve's *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*¹⁷ is an important asset. The first half of the book provides chronological historical coverage, while the second half offers brief biographical information and a list of publications on selected writers. The volume gives brief data on 529 emigré periodicals, irregular serials, almanacs, collective works and newspapers. It concludes with name and pseudonym indexes. While not strictly a bibliography, V. P. Kichigin's *Russkaia literatura zarubezh'ia*¹⁸ provides much information on writers as well as documents, memoirs and reminiscences. Edited by A. N. Nikoliukin, *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia russkogo zarubezh'ia (1918–1940)*¹⁹ builds on his earlier work published in 1993–1995.²⁰ The current volume focuses on the writers of the 'First Wave'. Arranged alphabetically, the volume deals with over 250 authors. Every entry is signed and provides extensive biographical information on each writer, as well as archival data and a list of publications by and about the subject. The book includes extensive name and abbreviation indexes. Two brief bibliographies devoted wholly or in part to the study of Russian emigré literature are I. A. Bikkulova and B. A.

¹² A. B. Nikanorov, 'Predvaritel'nyi spisok periodicheskikh izdanií russkogo zarubezh'ia v Latvii i Estonii', *Istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia*, 5 (1995), pp. 184–241.

¹³ A. Arsen'ev, 'Izbrannaia bibliografiia trudov na obshchie temy zhizni i deiatel'nosti', pp. 313–345 of A. Arsen'ev, O. Kirillova and M. Sibinovich (eds.), *Russkaia emigratsiia v Iugoslavii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Indrik', 1996).

¹⁴ A. A. Khisamutdinov, 'Detskaia emigrantskaia literatura v Kitae', *Bibliografiia*, 1999, no. 3, pp. 145–150.

¹⁵ V. F. Pecheritsa, 'Literatura vostochnogo zarubezh'ia', pp. 43–93 of his *Dukhovnaia kul'tura russkoi emigratsii v Kitae* (Vladivostok: Izdatel'stvo Dal'nevostochnogo universiteta, 1999).

¹⁶ G. B. Kiseleva, 'Bibliograficheskaia deiatel'nost' Tsentral'noi Biblioteki Kitaiskoi Vostochnoi Zheleznoi Dorogi (TsB KVZhD)', pp. 294–301 of P. A. Podbolotov (ed.), *Nauka i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia akademiia kul'tury, 1997) (Sbornik nauchnykh trudov SPbGAK, t. 146).

¹⁷ Gleb Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii. Kratkii biograficheskii slovar' russkogo zarubezh'ia*, R. I. Vil'danova, V. B. Kudriavtsev and K. Iu. Lappo-Danilevskii (eds.), 3rd ed. (Moscow and Paris: YMCA Press / Russkii Put', 1996).

¹⁸ V. P. Kichigin, *Russkaia literatura zarubezh'ia: literaturnye situatsii, pisatel'skie sud'by, fakty, dokumenty, vospominaniia, razmyshleniia: (uchebno-spravochnoe posobie)* (Belgorod: MP 'Kvant', 1993).

¹⁹ A. N. Nikoliukin (ed.), *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia russkogo zarubezh'ia 1918–1940. Pisateli russkogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1997).

²⁰ A. N. Nikoliukin (ed.), *Pisateli russkogo zarubezh'ia (1918–1940): spravochnik* (Moscow: IN-ION, 1993–1995).

Lanin, *Kratkii putevoditel' po russkomu zarubezh'iu*²¹ and T. P. Buslakova (ed.), *Izuchenie russkoi literatury za rubezhom v 1980-e gody*.²² A prominent literary figure enjoying bibliographic attention is Joseph Brodsky. *Iosif Brodskii: ukazatel' literatury na russkom iazyke*,²³ compiled by A. Ia. Lapidus, covers the period 1962–1995. Dealing with his works published both in Russian and abroad, as well as literature on Brodsky's life and work and other subjects, Lapidus provides us with a bibliography of 1158 items. While unannotated, the bibliography has a name index and is cross-referenced.

Periodicals

Good bibliographic work in the area of journals, serials and newspapers continues, although the intensity of such work has lessened compared to earlier periods. In his early *Russian Emigré Serials, 1855–1990*,²⁴ D. Howells provides useful information. The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by title with information as to the place and date of publication. Based on material in Oxford libraries and so covering only 234 items, the value of this work is rather limited. In contrast, the work done in this area by G. V. Mikheeva and others is a useful and significant accomplishment. Her *Svodnyi katalog russkikh zarubezhnykh periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdanii v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga (1917–1995 gg.)*²⁵ is a union list of some 578 items. Arranged alphabetically, the volume offers a great deal of information on each entry, and includes name, place and association indexes. This work continues the relatively recent change towards creating union catalogues and away from the old habit of focusing on the holdings of a single library. This new trend is evident as well in A. I. Bardeeva *et al.* (comps.), *Svodnyi katalog periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdanii russkogo zarubezh'ia v bibliotekakh Moskvyy (1917–1996 gg.)*.²⁶ Arranged similarly to the Mikheeva volume, this publication includes 1726 items as well as, among others, name, organization, country and city, and title indexes. One can only hope this new trend

²¹ I. A. Bikkulova and B. A. Lanin, *Kratkii putevoditel' po russkomu zarubezh'iu. Spravochnoe posobie dlia izuchaiushchikh i prepodaiushchikh russkoi literatury XX veka*, vypusk 1 (Moscow: Gumanitarnaia akademiia, 1993).

²² T. P. Buslakova (ed.), *Izuchenie russkoi literatury za rubezhom v 1980-e gody. Annotirovannyi bibliograficheskii ukazatel' (uchebniki, monografii, sborniki)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo MGU, 1995).

²³ A. Ia. Lapidus (comp.), *Iosif Brodskii: ukazatel' literatury na russkom iazyke za 1962–1995 gg.* (St Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 1997).

²⁴ D. Howells, *Russian Emigré Serials, 1855–1990*, in *Oxford libraries: Materials for a Union Catalogue* (Oxford: Willem A. Meeuws, 1990).

²⁵ G. V. Mikheeva (ed.), *Svodnyi katalog russkikh zarubezhnykh periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdanii v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga (1917–1995 gg.)*, 2nd ed. (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'skoi biblioteki, 1996).

²⁶ A. I. Bardeeva *et al.* (comps.), *Svodnyi katalog periodicheskikh i prodolzhaishchikhsia izdanii russkogo zarubezh'ia v bibliotekakh Moskvyy (1917–1996 gg.)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1999).

continues. On a smaller note, see E. Shtein's 'Zhurnaly Russkogo Kitaia'.²⁷ Finally, only one publication perseveres in the daunting task of indexing current Russian emigré periodicals. This is *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaia pechat' na russkom iazyke: ezhekvartal'nyi referativnyi zhurnal*,²⁸ edited since 1981 by Leonid Khotin. This wonderful source provides annotated entries on contemporary articles appearing in both journals and newspapers. With subject, name and title indexes, this journal has, at the time of writing, annotated close to 30,000 entries. This work is of great value to the field.

Publishing Houses and Bookstores

Virtually all the work done on this topic is either historical or contemporary in nature. Without a doubt the finest work to appear on this subject is W. Zalewski and Evgenii Gollerbach's *Rasprostranenie russkoi pechati v mire 1918–1939: spravochnik*.²⁹ Based on a wide variety of archival and printed sources, this guide gives extensive historical information on Russian publishing houses and bookstores worldwide. Arranged by country, this volume covers a difficult topic with great insight and precision. It deals with 616 institutions and is cross-referenced. The guide includes a name/title index. This guide is a much expanded version of a part of an earlier work,³⁰ and will probably stand as the standard guide for this topic for years to come. A narrower historical work is T. V. Selezneva's 'Izdatel'skoe delo rossiiskikh emigrantov v Amerike (1917–1930)',³¹ while M. A. Khachaturova's 'Izdatel'stvo Normana Rossa'³² has a more contemporary focus. Lastly, the publisher Posev has generated three articles: 'Izdatel'stvo "Posev": etapy puti',³³ M. G., 'Izdatel'stvu "Posev"—50 let',³⁴ and '“Posev” kontsa stoletia'.³⁵

Studies of Russian Emigré Publishing and Journals

A significant number of studies have emerged in recent years dealing with these topics. A broad work by I. A. Shomrakova, 'Problema istochnika pri

²⁷ E. Shtein, 'Zhurnaly Russkogo Kitaia', *Znamia*, 1990, no. 5, pp. 231–236.

²⁸ Leonid Khotin (ed.), *Zarubezhnaia periodicheskaia pechat' na russkom iazyke: ezhekvartal'nyi referativnyi zhurnal* (Richmond, California: Informatics & Prognostics, 1981–).

²⁹ Wojciech Zalewski and Evgenii Gollerbach, *Rasprostranenie russkoi pechati v mire 1918–1939: spravochnik* (St Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 1998).

³⁰ Andrzej Kłossowski and Wojciech Zalewski, *Dealers of Polish and Russian Books Active Abroad 1918 to Present: a Contribution to the History of Book Trade* (Warsaw: The National Library; Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1990).

³¹ T. V. Selezneva, 'Izdatel'skoe delo rossiiskikh emigrantov v Amerike (1917–1930)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 72 (1996), pp. 149–159.

³² M. A. Khachaturova, 'Izdatel'stvo Normana Rossa', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 65 (1993), pp. 153–155.

³³ 'Izdatel'stvo "Posev": etapy puti', *Posev*, 1995, no. 5, pp. 12–25.

³⁴ M. G., 'Izdatel'stvu "Posev"—50 let', *Posev*, 1995, no. 5, pp. 111–112.

³⁵ '“Posev” kontsa stoletia', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 2000, no. 2, p. 21.

izuchenii knizhnogo dela russkogo zarubezh'ia',³⁶ and two geographically narrower publications, I. A. Shomrakova, 'Knizhnoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia (Evropa, 1917–1940)',³⁷ and V. V. Katushkina, 'Memuary kak istochnik izucheniia knizhnogo dela russkogo zarubezh'ia v Evrope (1917–1939 gg.)',³⁸ fall into this category. Specific journals have also been studied: A. P. Ivkina, 'Kritiko-bibliograficheskie zhurnaly russkogo zarubezh'ia 1920-kh gg. ("Novosti Literaturny" i "Literatura i Zhizn")': opyt obzora',³⁹ E. A. Elfimov, 'Men'shevistskii zhurnal "Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik" v pervye gody emigrantskogo sushchestvovaniia',⁴⁰ N. A. Zhernakova, 'O Russkoi Akademicheskoi Gruppy v SShA i o ee "Zapiskakh"',⁴¹ M. Golubkov, '"Novyi Zhurnal" vchera i segodnia',⁴² S. Gardzonio, 'K izucheniiu russkogo zarubezh'ia v Italii: materialy k istorii La Russia i La Russia Nuova',⁴³ and N. Moravskii, 'Prazhskii sbornik sibirskikh emigrantov'.⁴⁴

Archives and Libraries

A topic which has gained increased attention in recent years has been archives related to Russian emigré organizations and individuals. The chief publication dealing with the topic as a whole is A. V. Popov's *Russkoe zarubezh'e i arkhivy*.⁴⁵ Focused on Moscow archives, it offers a great deal of background information

³⁶ I. A. Shomrakova, 'Problema istochnika pri izuchenii knizhnogo dela russkogo zarubezh'ia', pp. 268–280 of P. A. Podbolotov (ed.), *Nauka i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia akademiia kul'tury, 1997) (Sbornik nauchnykh trudov SPbGAK, t. 146).

³⁷ I. A. Shomrakova, 'Knizhnoe delo russkogo zarubezh'ia (Evropa, 1917–1940)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 67 (1994), pp. 165–184.

³⁸ V. V. Katushkina, 'Memuary kak istochnik izucheniia knizhnogo dela russkogo zarubezh'ia v Evrope (1917–1939 gg.)', pp. 286–294 of P. A. Podbolotov (ed.), *Nauka i kul'tura russkogo zarubezh'ia* (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia akademiia kul'tury, 1997) (Sbornik nauchnykh trudov SPbGAK, t. 146).

³⁹ A. P. Ivkina, 'Kritiko-bibliograficheskie zhurnaly Russkogo Zarubezh'ia 1920-kh gg. ("Novosti Literaturny" i "Literatura i Zhizn")': opyt obzora', *Istoriko-bibliograficheskie issledovaniia*, 6 (1996), pp. 139–147.

⁴⁰ E. A. Elfimov, 'Men'shevistskii zhurnal "Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik" v pervye gody emigrantskogo sushchestvovaniia', pp. 189–196 of A. V. Kvakin and E. A. Shulepova (eds.), *Kul'tura rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow: Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1995).

⁴¹ N. A. Zhernakova, 'O Russkoi Akademicheskoi Gruppy v SShA i o ee "Zapiskakh"', pp. 130–133 of A. V. Kvakin and E. A. Shulepova (eds.), *Kul'tura rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow: Rossiiskii Institut Kul'turologii, 1995).

⁴² M. Golubkov, '"Novyi Zhurnal" vchera i segodnia', *Novyi Zhurnal*, no. 192–193 (1993), pp. 499–505.

⁴³ S. Gardzonio, 'K izucheniiu russkogo zarubezh'ia v Italii: materialy k istorii La Russia i La Russia Nuova', *Stanford Slavic Studies*, 20 (1998), pp. 77–101.

⁴⁴ N. Moravskii, 'Prazhskii sbornik sibirskikh emigrantov', *Zapiski Russkoi Akademicheskoi Gruppy v SShA*, 26 (1994), pp. 317–339.

⁴⁵ A. V. Popov, *Russkoe zarubezh'e i arkhivy. Dokumenty rossiiskoi emigratsii v arkhivakh Moskvy: problemy vyivleniia, komplektovaniia, opisaniia, ispol'zovaniia* (Moscow: IAI, RGGU, 1998) (Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii, vypusk 4).

about these collections as well as a list of their contents. It also includes a name index and a list of Moscow archives and organizations holding material related to individual emigrés or to the history of Russian emigration. It is an impressive first step in an important task: the location and description of Russian emigré archival material in Russia and the CIS. Popov continued his work in 'Russkie arkhivy i muzei v SShA'.⁴⁶ An important work dealing with Russian emigré military documents is V. A. Zolotarev, Ia. F. Pogonii and A. P. Belozero (eds.), *Russkaia voennaia emigratsiia 20-kh–40-kh godov: dokumenty i materialy*.⁴⁷ Individual archival material has also gained attention: T. Pachmuss, 'Iz arkhivov Zinaidy Nikolaevny Gippius: rannie gody emigratsii',⁴⁸ and A. V. Popov, *Fond N. A. Troitskogo v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii*.⁴⁹ The return to Russia of archival materials collected by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is dealt with in L. Aleinik, '“Russkoe zarubezh'e” vozvrashchaetsia na Rodinu'.⁵⁰ An important but narrower concentration is found in E. V. Khandurina, 'Dokumenty germanskikh arkhivov o deiatel'nosti v emigratsii rossiiskikh uchenykh-ekonomistov v 1920-e gody'.⁵¹ Lastly, D. M. Shakhovskoi deals with an important Russian library abroad in 'Turgenevskaiia biblioteka i ee deiatel'nost'.⁵²

Chronologies

Significant work in this field centres on two works. The first is the massive work by L. A. Mnukhin and T. L. Gladkova, *Russkoe zarubezh'e: khronika nauchnoi, kul'turnoi i obshchestvennoi zhizni, 1920–1940, Frantsiia*.⁵³ The second deals with history: S. A. Aleksandrov (comp.), *Istoricheskaia nauka*

⁴⁶ A. V. Popov, 'Russkie arkhivy i muzei v SShA', *Voprosy istorii*, 1999, no. 6, pp. 118–124.

⁴⁷ V. A. Zolotarev, Ia. F. Pogonii and A. P. Belozero (eds.), *Russkaia voennaia emigratsiia 20-kh–40-kh godov: dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Geia', 1998–).

⁴⁸ T. Pachmuss, 'Iz arkhivov Zinaidy Nikolaevny Gippius: rannie gody emigratsii', *Zapiski Russkoi Akademicheskoi Gruppy v SShA*, 23 (1990), pp. 213–222.

⁴⁹ A. V. Popov, *Fond N. A. Troitskogo v Gosudarstvennom Arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii: opyt arkhivnogo obzora* (Moscow: Istoriko-Arkhivnyi Institut, 1994) (Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii, vypusk 1).

⁵⁰ L. Aleinik, '“Russkoe zarubezh'e” vozvrashchaetsia na Rodinu', *Russkaia Mysl'*, no. 4105, 14–20 December 1995, p. 17.

⁵¹ E. V. Khandurina, 'Dokumenty germanskikh arkhivov o deiatel'nosti v emigratsii rossiiskikh uchenykh-ekonomistov v 1920-e gody', pp. 1480–157 of *Istochniki po istorii adaptatsii rossiiskikh emigrantov v XIX–XX vv.: sbornik statei* (Moscow: IRI, RAN, 1997).

⁵² D. M. Shakhovskoi, 'Turgenevskaiia biblioteka i ee deiatel'nost', pp. 459–469 of E. P. Chelyshev and D. M. Shakhovskoi (eds.), *Kul'turnoe nasledie rossiiskoi emigratsii 1917–1940*, volume 2 (Moscow: 'Nasledie', 1994).

⁵³ L. A. Mnukhin and T. L. Gladkova, *Russkoe zarubezh'e: khronika nauchnoi, kul'turnoi i obshchestvennoi zhizni, 1920–1940, Frantsiia* (Moscow and Paris: EKSMO/YMCA Press, 1995–1997), 4 vols.

*Rossiiskoi emigratsii 20–30-kh gg. XX veka.*⁵⁴

Works of Related Interest

An impressive amount of other material is relevant to the subject of this article. They include: A. Vasil'ev, *Krasota v izgnanii: tvorchestvo russkikh emigrantov pervoi volny: iskusstvo i moda*,⁵⁵ which looks at emigré 'art' in the broadest sense. An unusual and fascinating look at cartoons from the emigré press can be found in S. A. Aleksandrov (comp.), *Satira i iumor russkoi emigratsii*.⁵⁶ This work is arranged chronologically under three subjects: Russian emigrés on themselves, emigration and the Soviet Union, and fascism as seen by the emigrés. Censorship of Russian emigré publications by the Soviet authorities is the subject of A. V. Blium, 'Literatura i pechat' russkogo zarubezh'ia'.⁵⁷ Other works include: V. I. Kosik, 'Iugoslavianstvo/slavianstvo v russkoi emigrantskoi periodike',⁵⁸ H. Williams, 'Russian-language periodical publishing by the radical emigration 1855–1900',⁵⁹ S. A. Paichadze, 'Russkie izdaniia v SShA (vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX v.)',⁶⁰ G. V. Mikheeva, 'Kollektsiia listovok, izdannyykh na territorii Antibol'shevistskikh Pravitel'stv (1917–1920 gg.) v fondakh Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki',⁶¹ L. Molchanov, 'Knizhnye palaty "Beloi" Rossii',⁶² A. L. Posadskov, 'Soveshchanie po delam pechati kak ideologicheskii tsentr Kolchakovskogo Pravitel'stva (po rassekrechennym materialam GARF)',⁶³ and O. Demidova, 'Russkaia revoliutsiia i grazhdanskaia voina v vospominaniakh, dnevnikakh i dokumentakh: opyt bibliografii'.⁶⁴ Fi-

⁵⁴ S. A. Aleksandrov (comp.), *Istoricheskaiia nauka rossiiskoi emigratsii 20–30-kh gg. XX veka* (Moscow: 'AIRO-XX', 1998).

⁵⁵ A. Vasil'ev, *Krasota v izgnanii: tvorchestvo russkikh emigrantov pervoi volny: iskusstvo i moda* (Moscow: Slovo, 1998).

⁵⁶ S. A. Aleksandrov (comp.), *Satira i iumor russkoi emigratsii* (Moscow: 'AIRO-XX', 1998).

⁵⁷ A. V. Blium, 'Literatura i pechat' russkogo zarubezh'ia', pp. 192–222 of his *Za kulisami 'Ministerstva Pravdy': tainaia istoriia sovetskoi tsenzury 1917–1929* (St Petersburg: Gumanitarnoe aginstvo 'Akademicheskii proekt', 1994).

⁵⁸ V. I. Kosik, 'Iugoslavianstvo/slavianstvo v russkoi emigrantskoi periodike', pp. 100–108 of A. Arsen'ev, O. Kirillova and M. Sibinovich (eds.), *Russkaia emigratsiia v Iugoslavii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Indrik', 1996).

⁵⁹ H. Williams, 'Russian-language periodical publishing by the radical emigration 1855–1900', *Solanus*, New series, 12 (1998), pp. 12–32.

⁶⁰ S. A. Paichadze, 'Russkie izdaniia v SShA (vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX v.)', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, 73 (1996), pp. 179–203.

⁶¹ G. V. Mikheeva, 'Kollektsiia listovok, izdannyykh na territorii Antibol'shevistskikh Pravitel'stv (1917–1920 gg.) v fondakh Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki', *Stanford Slavic Studies*, 20 (1998), pp. 280–287.

⁶² L. Molchanov, 'Knizhnye palaty "Beloi" Rossii', *Biblioteka*, 1997, no. 11, pp. 42–43.

⁶³ A. L. Posadskov, 'Soveshchanie po delam pechati kak ideologicheskii tsentr Kolchakovskogo Pravitel'stva (po rassekrechennym materialam GARF)', *Klio*, 1997, no. 2, pp. 131–133.

⁶⁴ O. Demidova, 'Russkaia revoliutsiia i grazhdanskaia voina v vospominaniakh, dnevnikakh i dokumentakh: opyt bibliografii', *Zapiski Russkoi Akademicheskoi Gruppy v SShA*, 28 (1996–1997), pp. 461–481.

nally, a listing of institutions in St Petersburg interested in questions of Russian emigration is provided in S. T. Malina (ed.), *Russkoe zarubezh'e v deiatel'nosti uchrezhdenii Sankt-Peterburga: spravochnik*.⁶⁵

As we have seen, much important work has been done in the field. Not only is the longevity of work devoted to Russian emigré bibliography impressive, but also the new directions the field has taken. Looking back, it is easy to conclude that the field is well researched and documented. This is only partially true. Much important work still needs to be done. This includes old and new problems: the indexing of the vast majority of emigré periodicals and serials, further work to identify and record archival collections, bibliographies of Russian emigré memoirs not published in the Russian language, greater collecting of materials on emigrés involved in science and technology, and bibliographies devoted to Russian publications appearing since 1991 in former parts of the Soviet Union and in other countries which previously had little or no Russian emigration (e.g. Cyprus). Obviously none of these problems can be solved quickly or easily; international cooperation is essential. Yet if we are to gain greater insight into modern Russian culture and avoid losing a precious legacy, their solution is vital.

⁶⁵ S. T. Malina (ed.), *Russkoe zarubezh'e v deiatel'nosti uchrezhdenii Sankt-Peterburga: spravochnik*, vypusk 1 (St Petersburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii informatsionno-kul'turnyi tsentr 'Russkaia emigratsiia', 1998).

О Зарождении русского феминистического альманаха ‘Женщина и Россия’

Анна-Наталия Малаховская

(Интервью с Марией Завьяловой)*

Когда и при каких обстоятельствах начали выходить женские журналы?

Первое издание для женщин, которое было не журналом, а альманахом, появилось в конце августа 1979 года. Обстоятельства его возникновения заслуживают особого рассмотрения. Дело в том, что в СССР даже и самое слово ‘феминизм’ было полностью незнакомо не только широким массам, но и специалистам-филологам, а существовавшее в начале 20-х годов в России женское движение так старательно замалчивалось, что о нем ничего не знала даже я, несмотря на то, что моя бабушка была близкой подругой Александры Коллонтай (об этом мне рассказал мой отец только в 1989 году). Мы не только ничего не знали о феминизме, но и старались как можно крепче забыть о том, что мы — женщины. Слово ‘женщина’ имело для нас неприятный привкус: что-то вроде ‘бесстыдная самка’, хитрая и с подвохом. Все мы хотели быть нейтральными и бесполовыми ‘человеками’. И, видимо, поэтому идея Мамоновой создать женский альманах в течение 4-х лет наталкивалась только на стену глухого непонимания: никому не хотелось добровольно признавать себя этим второсортным существом, а тем более иметь что-то общее с той темой, о которой Мамонова написала в 1975 году, — с темой родов в нашей стране. Хотелось как можно скорее забыть об этой грязи и об этом ужасе. Так продолжалось 4 года: из искры, созданной Мамоновой, не возгоралось никакое пламя.

В течение этих же самых четырех лет в Ленинграде зародилось, развилось и уже прошло первую стадию своего развития движение так называемой ‘второй культуры’. Это было движение нового поколения писателей и художников, и женщин, и мужчин, которые мечтали внести свою ‘лепту’ в жизнь русской культуры — и не могли пробиться в официальные издания. Благодаря этому движению женщины-писательницы, никому не известные, смогли познакомиться друг с другом. Они узнали о том, что их волновали сходные проблемы, и почувствовали уже к этому времени, что в общих с мужчинами журналах они не могут эти проблемы обсуждать. Поначалу речь шла вовсе не о каких бы то ни было

* This interview formed part of the research project OSI 936/1998 supported by the Open Society Institute.

сугубо женских темах, а о темах социальных, касающихся конкретной, живой жизни: редакторы-мужчины, которые в конечном счете заправляли всем в самиздатских журналах, не допускали такого рода произведения на страницы этих журналов. Конечно, иногда нам все не удавалось протолкнуть что-то, очень важное для нас, в самиздат. Так, например, в 1978 году в журнале '37' была напечатана моя первая повесть 'Темница без оков',¹ а весной 1979 года — моя статья о советских песнях. Татьяна Горичева, которая вместе с Виктором Кривулиным была в то время редактором этого самиздатского журнала, показала эту мою статью Татьяне Мамоновой. Статья так понравилась Мамоновой, что она попросила Горичеву передать мне ее статью 'Роды человеческие' — ту самую, написанную 4 года назад и не нашедшую отклика среди ее знакомых. Это было на стрелке Васильевского острова в один из последних дней июля 1979 года. Этот день и можно считать днем зарождения феминизма в России — потому что всего только через месяц альманах 'Женщина и Россия' был не только заново написан, но и перепечатан и переплетен — и уже отдан на суд читателей.

Вот как это произошло.

Для меня это было очень напряженное время: разочаровавшись в работе в самиздатском журнале '37', который я уже несколько лет переплетала и в котором около года исполняла роль секретаря редакции, я стала искать новых путей. С первых дней 1979 года я начала организовывать музыкальные и литературные вечера и художественные выставки у себя на квартире и в домах знакомых. Больше всего мне запомнились вечера на квартире у Вали Лупановой в апреле, когда человек 20 собравшихся слушали стихи и письма Юли Вознесенской из тюрьмы, и в мае, когда я читала мою статью о советских песнях. И у всех было весеннее, приподнятое настроение, все говорили живо, от души: как будто бы что-то нас всех приподнимает, как волной, и вот-вот подкинет еще выше... В конце мая того же года я начала писать повесть о юном и очень талантливом композиторе Алеше Николаеве, который покончил собой не вынеся всей той атмосферы постоянной лжи, в которой нам тогда приходилось жить.² Возможен ли какой-нибудь другой выход из этого положения, кроме самоубийства? — вот какой вопрос я тогда пыталась разрешить, работая на этой повестию.

В июле того же года вернулась из лагеря Юлия Вознесенская, с ко-

¹ Эта повесть переведена на английский язык Патрицией Бурак (Patricia A. Burak) в университете г. Сиракузы (США) в 1995 г. под названием 'Prison of Darkness', но перевод еще не опубликован. В 1997 г. повесть опубликовали в 'Новом журнале' (Санкт-Петербург), 1997, № 3, с. 109—171.

² Повесть 'Алеша' опубликована в журнале 'Континент' (Москва), 93 (1997), № 3, с. 9—39.

торой я заочно подружилась по переписке: тем самым для меня возник вопрос о возможности чего-то, похожего на Настоящую Дружбу. Не отпускало ощущение, что вот-вот произойдет что-то поразительное. И поэтому, когда Горичева сказала мне, что вот, мол, есть такая женщина, художница, Мамонова, которая мечтает создать женский журнал и приглашает меня в нем работать, — я тут же как будто со всех облаков свалилась.

— Что? ЖЕНСКИЙ журнал? Так как же так? Значит, меня все еще принимают за женщину?! А я-то думала, что я уже так хорошо пишу!

Тем не менее, я тут же стала читать статью Мамоновой 'Роды человеческие'. Мои собственные воспоминания о том, что со мной творилось в роддоме, встали передо мной в полный рост. Как в тумане, дошла я до трамвая, втиснулась в переполненный, сдавленная со всех сторон, и когда трамвай поднялся на середину Тучкова моста, вот тут-то это со мной и случилось. Вдруг — у меня раскрылись глаза, и я увидела всю свою жизнь с другой стороны, новыми глазами. Я поняла, почему меня всю жизнь толкали и зажимали, и почему мне затыкали рот, и почему считали меня существом какого-то самого низшего сорта. И почему в университет девочек принимали только со всеми пятерками, а мальчиков и с троечками. И почему в рожу мне можно было сапогом пинать за то, что я с воспалением легких и с температурой 40° не приготовила мужу обед. И почему ни на какие научные вопросы я никогда не получала никакого ясного ответа, кроме одного того, что сами эти вопросы я задавать не имею права, а думать надо в других (общепринятых? мужских? на мужчин ориентированных?) рамках мышления, где не разрешается спрашивать 'почему', а только 'сколько' или 'когда'. 'Ты думаешь не так, как надо', — это мне внушали везде, и на факультете археологии, и на факультете журналистики и филологии (где я училась). 'Все эти вопросы неправильные, и, о чем бы ни зашла речь, ты не права уже с самого начала, — и ты можешь учиться лучше, чем все мальчишки, вместе взятые, но это ничего не значит, ведь ты — девочка, и этого позора не смоешь уже ничем, а почему это так уж позорно, еще узнаешь. И не бойся, без боли не обойдется. Уж у тебя-то без боли это дело не пройдет. Ну, вот теперь ты узнала? И то, что живой тебя вытащили из этого зала, где заживо людей разрезают на куски и потом сшивают по живому мясу, — господи, ну какая разница, подумаешь, этих вот низкосортных людишек, из которых будущее человечество кровавым способом надо исторгать — больно, ну так и что ж? На то они и бабы. За то и платите. Понаслаждались, теперь вот и расплачивайтесь. Природа так распорядилась. И природа захотела, чтоб ты мучилась, рожая в невообразимых условиях от нелюбимого, — потому что женщине не гоже самой добиваться любви, "навязываться" любимому: бери того, кто выбрал тебя, это все — природа, и никакого

другого пути тебе нет, будь ты хоть семи пядей во лбу...'

Но вдруг оказалось — когда я доехала до середины Тучкова моста, я это как будто увидела, — вдруг оказалось, что таких, как я, не то что пять или там тысяча — нет — миллионы — и мучаются точно так же — да ведь нас, таких, — половина человечества! И всем зажимают рот. И всех тащат в эту темную комнату. И всем ухмыляются похабными улыбищами: 'Понаслаждались, расплачивайтесь. Рожайте нам бесплатно наше будущее человечество, ну, а мы уж превратим его в кровавое месиво — в пушечное мясо — по всем нашим арифметическим законам нашего скрупулезного и единственно правильного, логического умопостроения...'

И так я увидела вдруг и сверху, как будто бы сверху этот мир, как бы наполненный сиянием мириады огней, каких-то светящихся существ, и все это были женщины, унижаемые не за что бы то ни было другое, а просто за то, что они такими родились и против них как будто бы — все, что-то такое 'все', еще пока неясное и темное, как громада, а они вот зато светлые, светящиеся, с ореолами вокруг головы, светящиеся точки во тьме — светящиеся издали мириады.

Таким образом, в этот миг был приподнят пласт внешнего и привычного сознания во мне, пережившей роды девять лет назад и уже смилившейся с тем, что я — женщина, и старавшейся загладить эту свою недостаточность великими подвигами на почве творчества (писать все лучше и лучше, пока все не забудут о том, кто я такая, ослепленные сущностью моих идей и тем, как мне удалось их воплотить).

Идея журналов и их участники

Идея феминизма — это идея, заставляющая полностью перевернуть свое сознание, превращающая все тяготы и несправедливости твоей жизни, весь позор женского существования в некие новые возможности, чреватые небывалым плодородием и обещающие захватывающие приключения духа.

Пласт пола запрятан очень глубоко — загнан в самую глубину сознания — и поэтому переворот необходим радикальный. Человек, переживший такой переворот, испытывает невероятный подъем всех сил и чувство счастья — а человек с негибким сознанием идей феминизма воспринять не сможет — он отшатнется от этих идей, испугавшись всех тех чудовищ, которые сторожат это сокровище.

Идеи феминизма как идеи такого рода переворота сознания просвечивают во всех материалах наших изданий.

Самыми первыми участницами этого первого альманаха для женщин были мы трое — Татьяна Мамонова, Татьяна Горичева и я, — и идеи этого издания были нашими личными идеями.

Татьяна Мамонова была в то время лет 35-ти. Она была человеком сильного характера, жесткая и как бы холодная. Она не принадлежала ни к 'первой' культуре, ни к движению 'второй' культуры, а была сама по себе: она рисовала небольшие картины, которые продавала иностранцам, на что она жила и кормила свою семью. В ее картинках, неоклассицистических и умелых, при всем желании нельзя было заподозрить никакой 'ереси'. Таким образом Мамоновой удалось, не будучи 'советским художником', не оказаться и в рядах 'антисоветчиков'. Ей удалось добиться невиданного (для всех остальных) уровня благосостояния, не заплатив за это совестью. В то время такое положение было невероятной редкостью. Видимо, это-то и сделало ее как бы 'свалившейся с луны': она совершенно искренне верила всему тому, что писалось о положении женщины в советской конституции, и считала, что только хорошего женского журнала не хватает для того, чтобы провести все эти 'прогрессивные идеи' в жизнь.

Специально для альманаха Мамонова написала предисловие под названием 'Эти добрые патриархальные устои', поместила в альманахе свою статью 'Роды человеческие' (под псевдонимом) и некоторые свои стихи, а также материалы, написанные ее знакомыми под псевдонимами: статью 'Обратная сторона медали' (посвященную проблематике аборт) и эссе, в котором сравнивались бисексуальные стороны поэзии Уитмена и Цветаевой.

Татьяна Горичева, родившаяся в 1947 году, была в то время живописным, — не столько созданием, сколько явлением, накрепко связанным со 'второй культурой'. Самиздатский журнал '37' начал выходить под редакцией Кривулина и Горичевой в то время, когда они были женаты и жили в квартире № 37. Горичева была философом по образованию, когда-то даже преподавала философию в техникуме, но к тому времени (к 1979 году) была человеком уже давно безработным и без постоянного места жительства. Не знаю, чем она зарабатывала на жизнь, но помню, что она была постоянно полуголодной, растрепанной и неряшливо одетой: хотя к тому времени она уже вышла из периода 'хиппи', эта ипостась в ней все еще просвечивала. Она все еще носила кличку 'Хильда', которое ее наградили за ее любовь к Ницше и ко всему немецкому. Когда я ее впервые увидела, я ужаснулась тому, что Кривулин мог жениться на такой бродяжке (так она тогда — в 1976 году — выглядела). Но вот она как-то приспособилась, привела себя в порядок — и оказалось, что она — очень интересный человек, старающийся передавать свои знания всем встречным и поперечным: типичный 'культуртрегер' (носитель культуры). К тому времени она стала настаивать на том, чтоб ее считали авторитетом в области православия. О ее борьбе с женским в себе она рассказывает на первых же страницах своей статьи, написанной в августе 1979 года

для альманаха 'Женщина и Россия'. Она пишет о том, что занимает анти-материнские, антиженские позиции. Я думаю, что это связано с ее родителями: ее отец был мягким и слабым человеком, из дворян, а мать — властной и жесткой, из купцов. Горичеву с раннего детства постоянно избивала и терроризировала мать, а отец никак ее не защищал. Чего же и удивляться тому, что она цинично и брезгливо относилась к материнскому в женщине (например, упрекала меня — при живом ребенке — что я не сделала аборт — а сама она, по ее словам, сделала более двадцати абортов), а к мужчинам относилась снисходительно. Интересно, что после четырех лет работы в самиздатских журналах, для которых она писала в основном философскую 'заумь', абстрактным и холодным языком, для женского альманаха она вдруг написала о своих совсем личных проблемах, не скрывая ничего: ни своей ненависти к матери, ни своего 'блуда'. К сожалению, это горячее признание было заключено в рамку из елейных и слезливых православных проповедей, что с первого же слова отпугивало многих читателей. В дальнейшем Горичева стала писать намного лучше. Особенно интересным мне кажется ее выступление 'Ведьмы в космосе', опубликованное в первом номере 'Марии'.

Наталия Малаховская — как и Горичева, я родилась в 1947 году, в Ленинграде, в семье ученых. Стихи я стала писать с шести лет, а в 16 лет начала писать свою первую повесть — 'Темница без оков', — в которой описывала атмосферу духовного террора, царящую и в советских семьях, и в обществе в целом. В центре этой повести — образ девочки, которая сама, своими руками, убивает самое святое в себе — свою любовь — и даже думает, что делает это по своей воле. Прочитав эту повесть, и Горичева, и Вознесенская признавались мне, что и они пережили в детстве и в юности в точности такую же атмосферу духовного террора в своих семьях.

Еще до того, как я закончила учебу в университете, я вышла замуж, но замужество не принесло мне ничего, кроме голода, нищеты, тяжелых болезней и — побоев. Муж, который вначале казался приличным человеком, спился и стал циничным и низким извергом. Из-за того, что мой сын часто болел, мне не удавалось подолгу удерживаться ни на одной работе. Голодной я была почти всегда. Постоянными были поиски работы. После того, как в самиздатском журнале '37' была опубликована моя повесть, ко мне стали часто приходиться незнакомые люди — читатели. Они просили меня написать еще подробнее на одну из тем, затронутых в повести — о советских песнях. Приносили какие-то булочки. Я действительно стала писать о песнях — теперь уже по-настоящему, сидела в библиотеках, встречалась однажды даже с автором моей любимой песни. Написанная мною статья 'Культовое значение советских песен' была встречена с большим воодушевлением. Кроме этой статьи

и первой повести, к июлю 1979 года мною был написан роман 'Осень и зима, потому что весны не будет', и повесть 'Алеша'.

Осенью 1979 года нищета довела меня до того, что я устроилась на работу в котельной, где мне приходилось таскать уголь. Там я надорвалась, произошло опущение почки, и я заболела пиелонефритом в очень тяжелой форме. В январе 1980 года меня надолго положили в больницу. Выписывая меня из больницы, врач мне сказал, что, если я хочу остаться в живых, я должна постоянно быть в тепле и очень хорошо питаться. Так я поняла, что, если меня посадят в тюрьму, долго мне мучиться там не придется. Позднее я узнала, что и действительно все диссиденты, которые были почечными больными, погибли в тюрьмах и лагерях.

Когда работники КГБ уговаривали Мамонову бросить работу над женским альманахом, они ей говорили: 'Вы же — нормальный советский человек, и с кем вы только связались! Вознесенская — уголовница, Горичева — кликуша,³ а Малаховская — просто дура.' И они были в чем-то правы. Горичева действительно использовала этот альманах для пропаганды своих религиозных идей, Вознесенская видела его как инструмент политической борьбы (по принципу 'что антисоветское, то и хорошо'), и только я с полнотой простодушия вполне верила всему, что я делала, и под влиянием своего первоначального 'видения' (о котором писала выше) мечтала снять цепи с половины человечества при помощи расколдовывания самосознания женщины. Как и Горичева, которая написала для альманаха о том, что ей в ту пору было важнее всего, и я тогда написала о наблевшем — о положении женщины в семье. Конечно, попытка исторического подхода к этой теме была умозрительной, потому что об истории семейных отношений я тогда почти ничего не знала. Зато на практике и мне лично пришлось пережить все то, о чем я в этой статье писала. И все-таки моя статья — это не просто жалоба на жизнь, а попытка переосмысления ситуации в положительную, освобождающую душу сторону: мужчина может избавиться от всех своих семейных обязанностей, но тем самым он лишается и всех своих прав, и человеческое общество — общество матерей и детей — изгоняет его от себя. Происходит переворот, и женское существо, забитое и бесправное, оказывается стоящим во главе семейной жизни. Моим вкладом в альманах была не только моя собственная статья, но и статья 'Золотое детство', написанная моим сыном, и найденное и подготовленное мною к печати письмо Юлии Вознесенской из тюрьмы. Своим самым важным произведением, опубликованным в женских журналах, я считаю эссе 'Человек-надежда' ('Мария' № 3), посвященное философским сторонам

³ 'Кликуша' — грубое слово, которое значит 'религиозный фанатик'.

дружбы.⁴

Все мы трое — Мамонова, Горичева и я — уговорились наравных участвовать в подготовке альманаха к печати. Мы обсуждали, какие материалы брать, как их расположить в сборнике и т.д. Остальные участники альманаха были только авторами, которые порой даже и не ведали о том, что мы используем в этом сборнике их тексты (как это случилось с Юлией Вознесенской).

Юлия Вознесенская была старше нас на семь лет: она родилась в 1940 году в очень интересной семье. Девичья фамилия ее — Тороповская, отец ее был из Польши, а мать была потомком печально знаменитого в России Аракчеева: ее бабушка была пленной гречанкой, которую злодей-Аракчеев взял себе в наложницы. В то время, как отец со зверской жестокостью расправлялся с Юлей (бил ее скрученной проволокой, в кровь), мать была немножко колдуньей, разбиралась в травах и во всех их волшебных действиях. Юля гордилась своей матерью и передавала нам порой ее рецепты. Помню, как она 'заговаривала' мне грыжу, когда я надорвалась на работе. Женское в себе Юля отнюдь не подавляла, а старалась выглядеть красиво, одеваться нарядно, и ценила красоту в других. Она училась в Театральном институте, но недоучилась: не могла справиться с хозяйством и с детьми. У нее было двое сыновей, и должна была родиться еще девочка, но в конце беременности она подняла тяжелый котел с кипятившимся бельем (в отместку мужу, который не хотел помочь ей по хозяйству) — и у нее случился выкидыш, о чем она очень горевала и много лет спустя: хотела дочку. Главным мотивом и двигателем ее жизни было гордое и бесшабашное сопротивление всем, любому и каждому, кто мог только подумать ее подчинить себе. На фоне советской унылой покорности судьбе такая ее жизненная позиция казалась чем-то сияющим и прекрасным, завораживала. Юля верила в победу и как будто бы уже держала ее в руках, работая над сборником 'Лепта' и над тем, чтобы пробить его в официальную печать. Ее комната в коммуналке на Улице Жуковского была центром, чуть ли не поэтическим салоном, куда постоянно собирались авторы этого сборника (в 1975—1976 гг.). Она казалась мне чрезвычайно деловитой, педантичной в своем подходе к разным бумажкам, документам, отказам от властей, — настоящей 'Девой' (она родилась в сентябре). В то же время ей очень хотелось утвердить себя в глазах общества, доказать, какая она талантливая, — хотелось признания. Я восхищалась тем, как Юля боролась, шаг за шагом, не впадая в отчаяние из-за неудач. Но все ее мужество и цепкость в достижении цели не помогли — 'Лепту' так и не удалось опубликовать

⁴ Это эссе перевели на английский язык для 'Тривия' (Natalya Malakhovskaya, 'Terra Incognita: On Women and Writing', *Trivia: a Journal of Ideas* (Massachusetts, Trivia, 1982), no. 2). Русский текст опубликован в 'Новом журнале' (Санкт-Петербург), 1999, № 2.

официально, — и, может быть, под влиянием этой неудачи, всё из того же духа сопротивления, она и совершила роковой шаг, который привел ее в тюрьму. Вместе с двумя друзьями-художниками она участвовала в операции, в результате которой на стене Петропавловской крепости однажды ночью появилась пресловутая надпись ‘КПСС — ВРАГ НАРОДА’ (именно на этот эпизод я ссылаюсь в своей пьесе ‘Легенда о Кашее Бессмертном’,⁵ Юля послужила прототипом для действующей в пьесе мифологической Надежды).

Юлю осудили и посадили в тюрьму на 2,5 года. В тюрьме и на этапах, ведущих ее в сибирские концлагеря, она заняла ту же негибкую и гордую позицию сопротивления: начальникам, развлекающимся жестокими издевательствами над заключенными девушками и женщинами, она заявляет: ‘Спасибо, вы дали мне отличный материал’, — и сравнивает происходящее в современной тюрьме с тем, что она читала у Солженицына, недвусмысленно давая тем самым понять, что и она села в тюрьму только для того, чтобы написать нечто подобное написанному Солженицыным. Это-то ее ‘письмо из тюрьмы’ я и опубликовала на страницах альманаха, увидев в нем тот же переворот сознания, то же превращение нестерпимых пыток в инструмент борьбы и надежды, как и в других наших материалах.

Ваня Пазухин — мой сын, которому в то время было 9 лет. Как раз в те самые дни, когда шли разговоры о создании альманаха, мне пришлось спасти его из пионерского лагеря, где ему пришлось пережить такие мучения и издевательства, которые потрясли его и не давали ему покоя: ему хотелось поделиться тем страшным, что ему пришлось пережить тогда в лагере, и он написал об этом для нашего альманаха. Ваня был замечательным ребенком, моим близким другом, очень интересовался политикой и болтал о политике, как взрослый. Его самой большой мечтой было стать композитором — и эта его мечта на самом деле исполнилась. Он писал и статьи для ‘Марии’: первая из них, под названием ‘Как я учусь в школе’, была опубликована под псевдонимом в первом номере этого журнала (в то время преследования были особенно жестокими, и прежде всего работники КГБ обрушились именно на него, пытаясь раздавить его машиной на улице по пути в школу). Вторая его статья для ‘Марии’, ‘Туннель’, была опубликована под его именем уже после того, как нас выслали из СССР.

Соня Соколова — Ленинградская писательница, которая работала, кажется, инженером. В то время ей было около сорока лет. Меня она узнала и полюбила из-за моей повести, которую прочла в журнале ‘37’ — с тех пор она часто приходила ко мне и помогала мне во времена

⁵ Эта пьеса еще не опубликована.

моей тяжелой болезни, приносила что-то съестное. Соня была веселой, неунывающей и очень доброй. В отличие от Вознесенской, которую я втянула в альманах заочно и без ее ведома, Соня Соколова вполне сознательно приняла участие в первом же выпуске женского альманаха, отдав нам для публикации рукопись своего рассказа 'Летающие ящеры'. В этом рассказе подтверждается высказанное в моей статье разделение всего мира на человечество, состоящее из матерей и детей, и на мужчин, враждебных этому человечеству. В рассказе Сони Соколовой отец не бьет и не убивает ни жену, ни сына, а просто срывает со стены все их рисунки, уничтожая созданный ими веселый и одушевленный мир, и вместо всего этого радостного богатства обещает купить сыну заводной танк.

Для Сони очень остро стояла проблема сын и армия: ее сын к тому времени уже приближался к призывному возрасту. Эта проблема стала трагичной в начале 1980 года, когда началась война в Афганистане. Наш журнал в то время первым опубликовал протест против этой войны. На страницах журнала 'Мария' Соня опубликовала свое первое настоящее феминистическое произведение — статью 'Слабый пол? Да, мужчины!', в которой доказывала, что ситуация в СССР направлена на уничтожение всех тех сфер деятельности, в которых мог бы проявить себя мужчина, и поэтому обрекает мужчин на слабость. В замысле этой статьи отчетливо прослеживается та самая парадоксальность мышления, свидетельствующая о перевороте сознания, о которой я уже говорила выше.

Клавдия Ротманова (писала в журнале 'Мария' под псевдонимами 'Айя Лаува' и 'Ксения Романова', мы звали ее 'Ксюша'). Ее привела ко мне Горичева уже в 1980 году, где-то в феврале или в марте. Где-то она ее раскопала, в какой-то церкви подхватила, убедила, воодушевила и в таком состоянии притащила ко мне домой. Ксюша приехала в Ленинград из Латвии, работала в Риге журналисткой, а родом была из Даугавпилса. Трагедия ее состояла в том, что у нее не было жилья в том городе, где у нее была работа и где жили все близкие ей люди. И она то ночевала у кого-нибудь из друзей, то в аэропорту: такая вот бездомная (о чем она и написала позже: ее 'Монолог бездомного человека' опубликован в журнале 'Мария' № 3 (с. 42)).

Ксюша очень много говорила, рассказывая о том, что ей хотелось бы написать для 'Марии' — но действительно сесть и написать ничего не могла — не могла себя пересилить. Помнится, я купила ей большой кулек сладостей и заперла ее на два часа в своей комнате, а сама пошла 'гулять' по холоду и по лужам — выгнала себя из собственного дома. Когда я вернулась, Ксюшина статья была готова, — и это была, действительно, потрясающая, как я и предполагала, статья под названием 'Хозяин семьи' — написанная на основании сведений, сохраняющихся в

архиве Верховного суда Латвии. Ксюша писала о мужьях, убивающих и насилующих и жен, и малолетних дочерей, и о матерях, которые дошли до такой степени и физического, и душевного рабства, что поощряли все эти преступления. Это уже был парадокс женского сознания с обратным знаком... (см. журнал 'Мария' № 1, с. 39—42). Ксюша писала прекрасные стихи, некоторые из которых были опубликованы на страницах 'Марии'. Она была одной из тех, кому я передавала все дела по сохранению журнала в июле 1980, зная, что нас с Горичевой выгоняют из страны.

Татьяна Беляева была немного моложе нас, остальных. По образованию она была философом и преподавала этот предмет в вузе. Она была очень решительная и в то же время женственная, материнская. У нее было желание всем помочь, всех защитить и утешить. В отличие от Горичевой, проповедующей православие, Беляева была в ту пору протестанткой и в своей церкви боролась за свободу против закоснелых религиозных фанатиков. Ее свободолюбие пришлось мне очень по душе. Уезжая из страны, я передавала все дела по ведению журнала ей и Ксюше в полной надежде на то, что они справятся с этой задачей. Я учила Таню всему тому, необходимому для издания и редакции журнала, чему я сама научилась в ходе работы. В журнале 'Мария' № 2 помещена ее статья о проблемах аборт в СССР под названием 'Плачет Рахиль о детях своих', а в № 3 — ее 'Письмо о ленинградских дискуссиях клуба "Мария"' конца 1980 года.

Елена Шаныгина (писала в журнале под псевдонимом 'Елена Дорон') — родилась в Ленинграде в семье геологов в 1957 году (моложе большинства участниц на 10 лет). Лена — моя двоюродная сестра. На моих 'проводах' она подружилась с Таней Беляевой и стала вместе с нею издавать следующие номера журнала, выходившие в Ленинграде в самиздате. Лена — чрезвычайно талантливый человек, пишет и рисует. В 'Марии' № 3 опубликована ее статья 'Кто виноват?' (с. 56) и ее 'Размышления в день рождения' (с. 112), — в этом тексте говорится уже не только о бытовых и социальных проблемах и неразрешимостях, но и о самом главном — о ее поисках внутренней свободы в тисках мира, который она себе представляла чем-то вроде огромной бездушной машины. В работе в журнале 'Мария' она нашла какой-то свет и выход из своего безвыходного положения. Поддержка новых подруг, осознание, что ты делаешь что-то действительно важное, приносили ей радость и воодушевление. Но все это продолжалось недолго...

Алла Сарибан — участвовала в журнале с мая 1980 года. Впервые я с нею познакомилась в конце мая во время одной из конференций клуба 'Мария'. Алла была по специальности биологом и работала научным сотрудником, кажется, в университете. По происхождению она была из караимов, ее родители погибли во время гонения на крымских татар,

она выросла в полужуких семьях (у теток) и чувствовала себя довольно неприкаянной. Ее собственная семейная жизнь тоже не сложилась, но детей у нее не было, она работала по специальности, — и казалась довольно благополучным человеком. Женским движением она очень увлеклась, и писала с удовольствием и о проблемах быта, и на религиозные темы (см. 'Мария' № 2 и № 3).

Как распределялись обязанности?

С самого начала было решено, что у альманаха будет три редактора, и все они будут равноправными. Для первого номера каждая из нас написала новую статью и нашла материалы, написанные другими. В тот раз я редактировала только найденные мною материалы, а позже, когда началась работа над журналом 'Мария', я стала и полноценным литературным редактором, старавшимся довести все тексты до определенного литературного уровня.

После того, как все тексты были написаны и собраны, мы с Мамоновой взаимно обменялись ими и перепечатали на машинке: я напечатала 4 экземпляра, а нанятая ею машинистка — 6, так что в результате вышло 10 штук. Свои экземпляры Мамонова украсила собственными рисунками, мои были без рисунков, но аккуратно переплетены (переплестать я научилась еще в 1977 году для журнала '37').

После того, как начались преследования, Мамоновой под давлением КГБ пришлось уйти из этого издания, а сам альманах пришлось переименовать в журнал. Имя 'Мария' придумала я, написав в 'Воззвании' по этому поводу: 'В России много женских имен, и женщин в России больше, чем работников КГБ' (подразумевая, что, если запретят и этот журнал, мы назовем наш журнал другим женским именем). Имя 'Мария' имело для меня сказочный оттенок: я к тому времени назвала уже и свою младшую сестру, и своего сына сказочными именами (Машенька и Ванечка), а впоследствии стала специалистом по сказкам. Для Горичевой же имя 'Мария' имело очень четкую религиозную направленность, и именно эта направленность запечаталась в сознании читателей.

Оставшись с Горичевой вдвоем, мы решили взять Вознесенскую третьим редактором, чтоб нас опять было трое. Обязанности распределялись очень естественным образом: каждый делал то, что умел, к чему у него лежала душа. Например, Горичева не могла перепечатать на машинке даже свои собственные тексты, — поэтому вся работа по перепечатке лежала на мне. У Горичевой было неистребимое и неутомимое желание контактировать со всеми, везде и по любому поводу, так что она служила рупором журнала, его ходячей устной пропагандой, чем очень помогала его распространению и играла, как всегда, свою роль

‘культуртрегера’. В то время, как я сидела дома и работала с авторами журнала, редактировала их тексты или перепечатывала их, она ходила из церкви в церковь и приставала к незнакомым людям с рассказом о нашей сногшибательной затее — и это у нее выходило лучше, чем литературное творчество. Мне постоянно приходилось ‘доводить до ума’ и ее тексты, которые то и дело норовили соскользнуть назад в колею привычной для нее ‘зауми’ или религиозной слащавости. Иногда ее контакты с людьми приводили к тому, что ей удавалось взять настоящее интервью для журнала. Выражаясь современным языком, можно сказать, что Горичева занималась в нашем журнале отделом ‘public relations’.

Что касается Вознесенской, то она с большим интересом взялась за создание макета журнала. Концепцию нового журнала обсуждали наравных все мы трое: нам хотелось, чтобы это был не просто сборник, а живое, гибкое издание, с определенными рубриками, так, чтобы материалы последующих номеров могли естественным образом вырастать из аналогичных материалов предыдущих номеров, — так мы хотели обеспечить преемственность и развитие наших идей.

К концу декабря 1979 года макет первого номера ‘Марии’ был готов. Ложась в больницу, я отдала его Юле на хранение. В январе 1980 года у нее этот макет со всеми собранными нами материалами забрали на обыске, так что первый номер нашего журнала пришлось восстанавливать по памяти и частично создавать заново.

Как-то раз весной 1980 года Юля вместе со мной поехала брать интервью у Тани Пореш.⁶ Но больше всего ее интересовала затея создать клуб ‘Мария’, в котором бы нашлось место и тем женщинам, которые не умеют выражать свои мысли на бумаге. Для первой конференции этого клуба, которая состоялась (на частной квартире) 1-го марта 1980 года, она написала доклад ‘Домашний концлагерь’, опубликованный среди материалов этой конференции в первом номере ‘Марии’.

Всю конкретную работу по созданию журнала, — по собиранию, редактированию и перепечатке текстов вела я. А после Юлиного отъезда за границу (ее выслали 11-го мая) на меня легла еще и обязанность передавать готовые материалы журнала Юле за границу — и это была самая опасная часть работы. Я понимала, что с конспиративной точки зрения было очень глупо одному и тому же человеку исполнять все обязанности сразу, но мне не удалось найти никого, кто мог бы незаметно выполнить эту опасную функцию (когда Соня Соколова попыталась помочь мне в этом деле, ее тут же поймали и обыскали, раздев догола: хорошо, что рукопись журнала была не у нее, а у меня).

Когда нас выгоняли за границу, Горичева выполняла всю организа-

⁶ Татьяна Пореш была женой диссидента, арестованного в то время.

ционную часть работы по отъезду (поездки в Москву и пр.), а я день и ночь работала с Таней Беляевой и с другими женщинами, которым передавала свой опыт работы над журналом.

Каковы были отношения с мужчинами-издателями других самиздатских журналов: 'Часы', '37' и т.п.?

Насколько я помню, после того, как мы начали работу над женскими изданиями, отношений никаких уже не было, настолько мы были заняты этим делом. До этого я была знакома с издателем альманаха 'Часы' Борисом Ивановым: он снимал одно время мою комнату, раз или два я приходила в гости к нему и к его жене. Альманах 'Часы' я читала, но он не вызывал у меня никаких особенных чувств. С Кривулиным, издателем журнала '37', все было сложнее: Горичева была когда-то его женой и относилась к нему по-приятельски, у меня был с Кривулиным конфликт из-за того, что он не хотел печатать мою повесть, но пообещал мне это сделать, если я буду заниматься переплетом его журналов. Позднее выяснилось, что он отдал втайне приказ машинисткам мою рукопись держать у себя и не перепечатывать. В то же время он месяц за месяцем обманывал меня, говоря, что повесть напечатают в следующем номере, и пр. Когда мне удалось все это вскрыть, разразился скандал, и повесть тут же опубликовали. Следующий скандал разразился, когда я попыталась опубликовать в '37' свою статью о советских песнях: Кривулин кричал, что публиковать такую статью — все равно, что поставить на крыше пулемет и расстреливать прохожих... Статью все же напечатали и потом ее перепечатал московский журнал 'Сумма' как одну из самых интересных публикаций, но я уже поняла, что мне в этом журнале делать нечего, и, начиная с первого дня 1979 года, я искала новых, независимых от Кривулина, форм деятельности (музыкальные, литературные вечера, художественные выставки и пр.).

Когда и как начались преследования?

Преследования начались чуть ли не 15-го сентября 1979 года, когда в аэропорту у одной из иностранных подруг Мамоновой нашли и отобрали наш альманах. Начались они с того, что всех нас вызвали в КГБ. Мамоновой, которая попыталась убедить сотрудников этого учреждения, что она делает благородное дело, находящееся в соответствии с такими-то статьями советской конституции, они угрожали отнять у нее ребенка (которому было тогда 4 года), если она не подпишет документ о том, что отказывается от работы в альманахе 'Женщина и Россия'. Этот-то документ и был причиной того, что остальные участники альманаха решили назвать это издание по-другому и выпускать его без Мамоновой.

Я не пошла по повестке в это учреждение и переехала на другую квар-

тиру. Всем знакомым я говорила, что, если меня повезут туда насильно, я не буду отвечать ни на один вопрос: я не намерена вступать в разговоры с работниками КГБ, которых за людей не считаю, — раз они продали свою совесть, то и говорить с ними не о чем. У меня не было любопытства к этому злу, гебистов я считала выеденными оболочками того, чем они были прежде, до того, как начали работать в КГБ. Это как раз было в октябре, когда я надорвалась и тяжело заболела, меня почему-то не трогали — только заочно грозили отнять ребенка и у меня, но я абсолютно ни в какие контакты с ними не вступала и никаких бумаг не подписывала. Они даже не могли обвинить меня ни в чем, кроме того, что я — ‘просто дура’ (получить такое признание от КГБ я считала для себя почетным). В январе преследования в целом усилились, и казалось, что всех нас вот-вот арестуют: в это время я лежала в больнице, и, может быть, поэтому меня оставили в покое. Настоящие преследования начались в мае и особенно усилились после Юлиного отъезда. Однажды какая-то машина попыталась задавить моего сына, когда он переходил через дорогу по всем правилам: зажегся зеленый свет светофора, сын ступил на дорогу — и тут же вынырнула машина и погналась за ним, он едва успел увернуться. На каждом углу, в проходном дворе и в моей парадной стояли люди, которые следили за мной. Едва я выходила на улицу, за мной ехали сразу три машины. Однажды ночью на меня напал эксбиционист, как раз когда я возвращалась с женской конференции. Из дому уже было не выйти одной, так что помню, как ко мне приставили какого-то каратиста, из сочувствующих диссидентов, и он проводил меня мимо столпившихся на лестнице ‘личностей’, которые напали на нас и устроили драку.

В июне я переехала на новую квартиру. Было ясно, что меня вот-вот посадят, и хотелось оборудовать полученную мною — после десяти лет стояния на очереди — комнату, чтобы оставить ее сыну. Новая комната была на Кировском проспекте, недалеко от Большой Пушкинской, где я тогда жила. Помню, как я иду по Матвеевскому садику: начало июля, все цветет, настроение у меня приподнятое, и я напеваю про себя только что сочиненную на мотив ‘Butterfly’ песню, в которой говорю своему преследователю как бы от лица бабочки: ‘Нет, не схватишь на цветах, не достанешь в облаках: пусть восторг горит в твоих глазах, мне смерть несет твоя рука...’. Вечер, косые лучи солнца. Рядом со мной останавливается роскошный лимузин, и из него выходит пожилой господин, каких я в жизни не видела: лощёный, холёный, чуть ли не с лакированной тросточкой. Как из романа о дворянах прошлого века.

— Наталья Львовна? — спрашивает он меня. Я киваю. Он достает из кармана карточку, на которой — только номер телефона.

— Вот по этому телефону вы позвоните сегодня до полдесятого и

скажете, что вы согласны выехать за границу. Если вы этого не сделаете, утром вы окажетесь в тюрьме.

— Без Горичевой я не поеду, — ответила я.

— К ней относится то же самое, — ответил этот господин — и уехал.

Было уже полшестого вечера. Где искать Горичеву, я не знала: она, как всегда, была везде и нигде. К счастью, она мне тут же позвонила, приехала ко мне, и по тому самому телефону мы позвонили вместе с нею. Это было 9-го июля. На сборы нам дали одну неделю: хотели выпроводить нас до начала Олимпиады. Но потом какие-то формальности затянулись, и срок продлили до раннего утра 20-го июля. Не спавшие две недели, оплаканные Ксюшей, которая провожала нас в аэропорт на такси, мы вошли в полупустой самолет...

Думаю, что как раз эта сцена в саду всплыла у меня в памяти, когда я писала в своем романе 'Возвращение к Бабе-Яге' сцену встречи героини с Кашеем Бессмертным.

После нашего отъезда преследования не прекратились. Елене Шаныгиной прямо угрожали, что задавят машиной ее маленьких детей (им тогда было 3 года и год). Татьяну Беляеву, которая была тогда беременной, допрашивали по многу часов: однажды она упала и сильно ударилась головой — у нее было сотрясение мозга. Наташу Лазареву, которая была художницей журнала, посадили в тюрьму, ненадолго выпустили и посадили снова (материалы об этом — во втором номере 'Марии'). В конце концов, к 1982 году, журнал распался: семерых выслали, восьмая была в тюрьме, остальные не смогли удержать журнал. В конечном счете только французским феминисткам мы обязаны тем, что могли продержаться хотя бы один год и не были уничтожены физически с самого начала, как это произошло со многими диссидентами в то время.

APPENDIX: BACKGROUND AND POSTSCRIPT

Elizabeth Waters

In the 1970s Western analysts of Soviet society noted that although the number of women graduates and workers was high, the service sector remained underdeveloped. Women's double burden was a heavy one. Represented at international functions by the cosmonaut, Valentina Tereshkova, and in the Soviets by the proverbial milkmaids, women had little influence in the corridors of power. In the West the women's movement made headlines but no one was predicting its spread to the USSR. The Soviet government maintained zero tolerance towards grassroots political activism, and there was little evidence that the Soviet people harboured a grudge against the gender order. Sexual equality was not on the dissident agenda. Late in 1979 a new samizdat publication surfaced in Leningrad entitled 'Al'manakh Zhenshchina i Rossiia' (*Almanac Woman and Russia*),¹ describing the 'unbearable situation' of Soviet women and declaring its determination to speak out and find solutions. Within weeks of its launch the manuscript had been smuggled abroad, translated into French and published in a Parisian journal.² The Western media ran stories on the birth of the Russian women's movement, and this publicity in all probability helped shield the editors of the *Almanac* from arrest and imprisonment.³ With the Moscow Olympiad on the horizon the Soviet government preferred to silence opposition with as little damage to its image abroad and chose to send the feminist ringleaders beyond its borders. By the summer of 1980 Tat'iana Goricheva, Natal'ia Malakhovskaia, Tat'iana Mamonova and Iuliia Voznesenskaia found themselves in exile in Vienna. They left behind them not one but two organisations.

¹ The *Almanac* has been dated variously to the summer, autumn and winter of 1979. See T. Goricheva, 'Des sorcières dans l'espace', in *Maria* (Paris, Des femmes, 1981), p. 54; T. Mamonova (ed.), *Women and Russia* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1984), p. xiii. The manuscript on which the French and English translations were based carries the date '10 December' on the title page. This was the version cited at a conference on the history of samizdat held in St Petersburg in 1992. See Galina Grigor'eva, 'K istorii zhenskogo dvizheniia vos'midesiatykh godov. Al'manakh "Zhenshchina i Rossiia", zhurnal "Mariia"', in *Samizdat (Po materialam konferentsii '30 let nezavisimoi pechati 1950-80 gody', Sankt-Peterburg 25-27 april' 1992 g.)* (Pavlovsk, Memorial, 1993), p. 121. In samizdat publishing, considerable time might elapse between completion of an original copy for a small circle of contacts and the launch of multiple copies for a wider readership.

² *Des femmes en mouvement hebdo*, no. 10 (January 1980).

³ Most of the women who contributed to the *Almanac* suffered at some time from one form or another of KGB harassment, either cross-examinations, house searches or threats to job security and education prospects. In the early 1980s at least two feminists, Natal'ia Lazareva and Natal'ia Mal'tseva, spent time in prison. See 'The Everyday Gulag', in T. Mamonova (ed.), *Woman and Russia* (note 1), p. 231.

Many of the women associated with the *Almanac* were members of the Orthodox church and believed that feminism and Christianity were necessarily connected. In early 1980 they were already distributing a second samizdat publication, 'Mariia', and running a club of the same name to discuss religion and the female estate. Tat'iana Goricheva, Natal'ia Malakhovskaia and Iuliia Voznesenskaia were all founder members of the Mariia group. Other women, committed to a broader-based secular orientation, chief among them Tat'iana Mamonova, continued to run the *Almanac*. In foreign exile all four feminists worked to publicise and finance their cause and maintain contacts with supporters who remained in the USSR. Several issues of both journals were published,⁴ but neither group was able to find the resources it needed to survive in the West and the nascent women's organisations in the Soviet Union were no match for the security forces; by the end of 1982 the production of samizdat ceased and Russian feminism fell silent.

The Second Culture and the 'Maternal Family'

The Brezhnev era saw the coming of age of a new generation of urban professionals for whom memories of the Stalin era were too distant to act as automatic damper on critical thought. Rising living standards and greater access to information about life in Western countries led to an escalation of expectations and discontents. A growing number of men and women participated in unofficial seminars, attended art exhibitions, consumed and produced samizdat literature. They chain-smoked and argued endlessly in each other's kitchens. They formed a 'second culture', bound by ties of friendship and kinship, marked by community spirit and the quest for higher truths, subject at the same time to the strains of life under police surveillance and prey to fissure and faction.

It was from this milieu that the editors of the *Almanac* were drawn. Tat'iana Goricheva had organised a theology discussion group and with her ex-husband, Viktor Krivulin, edited a samizdat journal, '37'.⁵ Iuliia Voznesenskaia worked with Viktor Krivulin on a committee set up in 1975 to negotiate the official publication of 'Lepta', a collection of unofficial poetry. Another member of this committee, Evgenii Pazukhin, editor of '37's religious section, was the ex-husband of Natal'ia Malakhovskaia and father of her son. Less well known in the dissident movement than either Tat'iana Goricheva,

⁴ The *Almanac Woman and Russia* was translated into the major European languages and Japanese. See Tat'iana Mamonova's resumé on her website at www.dorsai.org/~womearth/tatyana.html. Foreign editions of volumes 2, 3 and 4 were fewer in number. For details of Paris editions, see bibliography at the end of this article. Two volumes of Mariia were published in the West (see bibliography). There are no English-language translations.

⁵ For the history of the journal '37', see V. Krivulin, "'37": Severnaia pochta', in *Samizdat* (note 1), pp. 74–81.

who had a reputation as a philosopher as well as an editor, or Iuliia Voznesenskaia, who had had her poetry published abroad as well as in samizdat, Natal'ia Malakhovskaia was typical of the women involved in Russian feminism in this era. Though she had gone to university she did not have regular professional employment; instead she earned a living from a series of poorly paid and physically demanding jobs, and in her spare time wrote essays and fiction and prepared samizdat material for publication. Like her, most of the feminists had children and many of them were divorced. Natal'ia Malakhovskaia's personal experience of domestic life left a particularly deep and unhappy impression. In the *Almanac* she explored the predicament of single mothers forced to bring up children on a pittance. 'The family is built on the bones of women', she wrote, 'on their tears of blood'.⁶ Whether or not the other contributors had first-hand experience of alcoholic and absentee husbands they recognised them as an important sociological phenomenon.⁷

The problem, the editors of the *Almanac* felt, went beyond the failings of individual men who took to the bottle or refused to pull their weight around the house. The government was responsible for creating the context for this kind of unacceptable male behaviour and compounded its effects by ignoring the dimensions of women's lives that were distinct to their sex. Blind to female experience the Soviet Union failed to provide reproductive choices: contraception was primitive, abortion facilities woefully inadequate and childbirth a nightmare. The state of maternity homes was the instance that sprang most readily to their minds. The indignities and lack of proper provisions associated with these institutions were etched sharply into memory.⁸

Natal'ia Malakhovskaia describes how reading Tat'iana Mamonova's essay 'Human Birth' made her reassess her own life and discover that she had a feminist consciousness. Suppression of the feminine, according to the *Almanac*, was a psychological as well as a social process. Girls were educated to conform to the male standard and censor their intellectual and emotional life in order to meet the expectations of culture and society. The efforts to mould women to the straitjacket of *Homo sovieticus* were however never totally successful: women were different from men, more altruistic, peace-loving and constructive.⁹

⁶ N. Malakhovskaia, 'Materinskaia sem'ia', *Zhenshchina i Rossiia: Almanakh zhenshchinam o zhenshchinakh* (Paris, Des femmes, 1980), p. 37.

⁷ T. Goricheva, 'Raduisia slez evinykh izbavlenie', *Zhenshchina i Rossiia* (note 6), p. 24.

⁸ 'Eti dobrye patriarkhal'nye ustoi', *Zhenshchina i Rossiia* (note 6), p. 12; R. Batalova, 'Rody chelovecheskie', *ibid.*, pp. 43–50 (R. Batalova is a pseudonym for Tat'iana Mamonova); N. Malakhovskaia, 'Materinskaia sem'ia', *Zhenshchina i Rossiia* (note 6), p. 34. On insults and indifference in maternity homes, see also K. Unksova, 'An Uphill Struggle', in T. Mamonova (ed.), *Woman and Russia* (note 3), pp. 93–105.

⁹ T. Goricheva, 'Raduisia slez evinykh izbavlenie', *Zhenshchina i Rossiia* (note 7), pp. 23–24; 'Eti dobrye patriarkhal'nye ustoi', *ibid.*, p. 16.

The *Almanac* attributed the maternal family and the other inequalities of Soviet reality to 'patriarchy' and 'phallocracy' and cultural patterns of long-standing. The journal's introductory essay gave a warm mention to the post-revolutionary emancipatory policies of the Bolsheviks that prevailed until the Stalinist era, and to the success of modern Western societies in raising the status of women. Radical social reforms, the suggestion seemed to be, offered solutions to current Soviet shortcomings.

Conflicts and Core Beliefs

The *Almanac*'s introductory essay reflected in the main the views of Tat'iana Mamonova. The original idea for a woman's journal was hers. She had been interested in feminism for a number of years and had learned about the Western women's movement from the foreigners who purchased her paintings. She was not hostile to socialist ideas, in fact she identified herself as 'left-wing' and admired Bebel and Lenin for their writings on the 'woman question'. The other editors were new to feminism and had never shown any leftist leanings; on the contrary the temper of the circles they moved in was decidedly anti-Marxist.

In exile relations between Tat'iana Mamonova and the other three women were strained. *The Observer* diagnosed 'emigritis'.¹⁰ Clashes of personality were no doubt magnified in the unfamiliar climate of Western Europe, but there were real differences. The feminism of the *Almanac*'s editorial was secular and modern, its political implications were radical. Mariia on the other hand spoke the language of tradition. 'We have named our club and our journal after the One who is at the source of the salvation of the world, She who protects Russia on earth and in heaven', the journal explained in its opening statement.¹¹ The group advocated a 'novel mixture' of feminism and Christianity, distinct in its eyes from the Western ideology of the *Almanac*. Instead of the 'destructive' force of secular feminism, it offered the rule of heart over reason, the promise that the Russian Christian woman would show the way forward and conquer the 'global dragon'. The supporters of the *Almanac*, in their turn, characterised religious feminism as right-wing, nationalist and elitist.¹²

Tat'iana Mamonova gravitated towards the Western feminist movement. In

¹⁰ S. Guppy, 'The Women's Camp', *The Observer*, 13 December 1981.

¹¹ *Maria* (note 1), p. 33.

¹² Galina Grigor'eva, 'K istorii' (note 1), p. 121; *Maria* (note 1), p. 41 and p. 35; T. Goricheva, *Russkaia zhenshchina i pravoslavie* (St Petersburg, Stupeni, 1996), p. 84. In fact, Malakhovskaia says that it was the issue of nationalism which caused a definitive rift between Voznesenskaia on the one side and Goricheva, Beliaeva and Malakhovskaia; in the second issue of *Mariia* they inserted a note disclaiming responsibility for and expressing their opposition to the publication of 'material glorifying the new Russian martyrs and confessors of the faith' (i.e. the Tsarist family) which Voznesenskaia had insisted on including.

1981 she went on a speaking tour of the United States hosted by *Ms* magazine, and subsequently lectured in Canada, Europe and Japan at the invitation of women's groups and taught on women's studies programmes in various North American colleges. The Mariia group found the Russian emigré community a more congenial environment and forged links with Christian women's organisations.¹³

Despite their differences the two feminist groups shared a belief that ordinary Soviet people outside the élite of party and government had stories worth telling and should be given a hearing, that the downtrodden Soviet woman, once made conscious of her unequal situation, would herself find the means to change it. Their organisational philosophy owed something to the nineteenth-century *narodniki* and something to the culture of consciousness-raising and participatory democracy that flourished in the West in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴ The feminists wanted to practise the political tolerance they found lacking in the Soviet system. Iuliia Voznesenskaia, writing in *Posev*, urged the two opposing groups within Russian feminism to learn to live together without 'trying to suppress each other'.¹⁵ When a far-left group accused the *Almanac* editors of being 'man-hating mystics, Virgin Mary worshippers and petty-bourgeois poetesses', Natal'ia Malakhovskaia responded with good humour. 'Finally', she wrote, 'we have encountered polemics! Until now, people have listened to us, asked us questions, expressed admiration However we have finally found opponents! Opponents who do not search our houses, arrest us, follow us Opponents, who express their views in print.'¹⁶

Many of the criticisms the feminists made of their society were not new. Women's double burden was already finding modest recognition in Soviet literature, the crisis in the family had become an acceptable topic, albeit mainly in scholarly journals, and sociologists were turning increasing attention to the problems of everyday life, love and marriage, even sex stereotyping and sexuality. While the *Almanac* was to this extent a product of the times it was an unofficial publication; its very existence highlighted the lack of civil liberties in the USSR in a way that the regime was not prepared to countenance. Moreover, the *Almanac* was written in a highly charged and emotional language, the literary equivalent, according to one commentator, of 'women howling'.¹⁷ Needless to say such a style was quite foreign to Soviet publications. It was not so much what the feminists said—though this was problematic enough—it

¹³ See T. Goricheva, *Talking about God* (London, SCM, 1986), pp. 89–103.

¹⁴ For a discussion of consciousness-raising in the Russian context see V. Sperling, *Organising Russian Women* (Cambridge, CUP, 1999), p. 55.

¹⁵ Iu. Voznesenskaia, 'Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Rossii', *Posev*, 1981, no. 4, p. 42.

¹⁶ N. Malakhovskaia, 'Open Letter to the Editors of Women and Revolution', *Women and Revolution*, 1981/1982, no. 23, p. 7.

¹⁷ Galina Grigor'eva, 'K istorii' (note 1), p. 121.

was where and how they said it that placed them firmly beyond the pale.

Postscript: Glasnost and Beyond

In the Gorbachev era the discussion about woman's social place and political presence was renewed, this time in the official media. Glasnost shrunk the list of taboo subjects and made the hunt for discrepancies between state promises and performance the duty of new thinkers. It was no longer shocking to write in the popular press about the minority reaches of sexuality or to demand that women have real influence on the affairs of state. The plight of single mothers, the deplorable state of maternity homes and abortion clinics became everyday copy. The style of journalism pioneered by the feminists came into its own. The personal testament of victim or survivor became a popular format, and outpourings of pent-up emotion were positively encouraged.

Through the 1990s the authors of the *Almanac* pursued their separate careers. Natal'ia Malakhovskaia researched the matriarchal origins of Russian culture. Tat'iana Mamonova produced feminist videos and ran an ecofeminist organisation from New York. Tat'iana Goricheva published on religion and feminism. Iuliia Voznesenskaia continued to write poetry.¹⁸ They all took advantage of the new freedoms to travel home.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the country that expelled the feminists in 1980 has welcomed them back with open arms. Their samizdat publications made more of a mark in the West than in the USSR and have not been a major formative influence on contemporary Russian feminism.¹⁹ Many of the barriers to equal citizenship identified in the *Almanac* still exist and are largely unchanged: women's double burden is taken for granted, politics remains a male preserve and feminism is popularly regarded as something foreign and trivial. Nevertheless the shifts in social and political life have been profound and have already produced results that in 1980 would have seemed fabulous. In 1993 Natal'ia Malakhovskaia's novel *Return to Baba-Yaga* was published in Russian in Russia, and in 1997 Tat'iana Mamonova organised an international conference at a St Petersburg hotel. Moreover, books and conferences about women are sufficiently common nowadays no longer to warrant automatic media attention.

¹⁸ See bibliography for a selection of their published works.

¹⁹ The first Russian feminists are mentioned only briefly by V. Sperling in *Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia* (Cambridge, CUP, 1999). The contributors to *A New Era in Russian Feminism* (ed. Anastasia Posadskaya) (Oxford, Blackwell, Verso, 1994) do not mention them at all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 'Almanac', *Des femmes en mouvement hebdo*, January 1980, no. 10.
- Almanac Woman and Russia*. London, Sheba, 1980.
- Almanach*, Vol 2: *Rossiianka. Des femmes russes*. Paris, Des femmes, 1980.
- Almanach*, Vol 3: *Zhenshchina i Rossiia*. Paris, Editions Des femmes, 1981.
- Almanach*, Vol 4: *Voix des femmes en Russie*. Paris, Douréal-Gontier, 1982.
- Braitberg, Alice, 'Quand le féminisme resurgit a Leningrad', *L'Alternative*, 1987.
- Goricheva, T., *Talking about God is Dangerous*. London, SCM, 1986.
- (ed.), *Russkaia zhenshcina i pravoslavie: bogoslovie, filosofia, kul'tura*. St Petersburg, Stupeni, 1996.
- (ed.), *Khristianstvo i ekologiia: sbornik statei*. St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Russkogo khristianskogo gumanitarnogo universiteta, 1997.
- and Arina Kuznetsova, *Pis'ma o liubvi*. St Petersburg, Stupeni, 1998.
- Holt, Alix, 'The First Russian Feminists', in B. Holland (ed.), *Soviet Sisterhood*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1985.
- Malakhovskaya, N., 'Open letter to the editors of Women and Revolution', *Women and Revolution*, 1981–1982, no. 23, pp. 6–10.
- Malakhovskaia, N., 'Apologiia Baby-Iagy', *Preobrazhenie* (Moscow), 1994, no. 2, pp. 21–47.
- , 'Alesha', *Kontinent* (Moscow), 93 (1997), no. 3, pp. 9–39.
- , 'Temnitsa bez okon', *Novyi zhurnal* (St Petersburg), 1997, no. 3, pp. 109–171.
- , *Vozvrashchenia k Babe-Iage*. St Petersburg, FARN, 1993.
- Mamonova, T. (ed.), *Woman and Russia*. Boston, Beacon, 1984.
- , *Russian Women's Studies: Essays in Sexism and Soviet Culture*. Oxford, Pergamon, 1989.
- , *Women's Glasnost' vs. Naglost'. Stopping Russian Backlash*. Westport, Conn., London, Bergen and Garvey, 1994.
- Maria. Journal du club féministe*. Paris, Des femmes, 1981.
- Posadskaya, A. (ed.), *Women in Russia. A New Era in Russian Feminism*. Oxford, Verso/Blackwell, 1996.
- Samizdat (Po materialam konferentsii '30 let nezavisimoi pechati 1950–80 gody' Sankt-Peterburg 25–27 aprel' 1992 g.)*. Pavlovsk, Memorial, 1993.
- Sperling, V., *Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia*. Cambridge, CUP, 1999.
- Voznesenskaia, Iu., 'Zhenskoe dvizhenie v Rossii', in *Posev*, no. 4 1981.
- , *Zhenskii dekameron*. Tallinn, Tompas, 1991 (and Moscow, Vernisazh, 1992). Translated as: Julia Voznesenskaya, *Women's Decameron*. London, Quartet, 1986 (and Methuen, 1987, and Minerva, 1988).
- , *Zvezda Chernobyl'*. New York, Liberty Publishing House, 1987. Translated as: Julia Voznesenskaya, *The Star Chernobyl*. London, Quartet, 1987.

Slavic Studies and Slavic Librarianship in the United States: A Post-Cold War Perspective

Aaron Trehub¹

In 1998, Richard Hacken, European Studies Bibliographer at Brigham Young University, published an exemplary article on the state of European Studies in North America and scholarly publishing in Western Europe.² The present article is an attempt to do something similar for Slavic and East European Studies (henceforth Slavic studies). Instead of looking at scholarly publishing in the region in question, however, I would like to examine the relationship between Slavic studies and Slavic librarianship in the United States, with a special emphasis on the post-Cold War period.

First, some qualifications. This article began as a presentation at the 1998 meeting of ABDOS—the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Bibliotheken und Dokumentationsstellen der Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropaforschung, or German Slavic Librarians' association—in Göttingen, Germany. The requested topic was 'Osteuropaforschung in den USA: Aufgaben und Literaturversorgung'—roughly translated, 'Slavic studies in the United States: Mission and Library Issues'.³ Although this article is based on that presentation, it does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatment of Slavic studies or Slavic librarianship in general. Nor does it delve into the day-to-day details of Slavic librarianship—acquisitions, selection, exchanges, or relations with vendors. Rather, it is an attempt by a librarian and bibliographer (and former Soviet affairs analyst) to assess the current state of Slavic studies and Slavic li-

¹ I would like to thank Dr Franz Görner of the Osteuropa-Abteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz for the invitation to read a preliminary version of this article at the 27th ABDOS conference in Göttingen, Germany, in May 1998. Professor E. Willis Brooks (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Professor Robert H. Burger (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Stephen D. Corrsin (Wayne State University), Murlin Croucher (Indiana University), June Pachuta Farris (University of Chicago), Professor Ralph T. Fisher, Jr. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Professor Diane P. Koenker (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Professor Laurence Miller (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), Michael Neubert (Library of Congress), Bradley L. Schaffner (University of Kansas), Helen Sullivan (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), and the participants of the Slavic Librarians E-Mail Forum (Moderator: Allan Urbanic, University of California at Berkeley) provided perspectives, comments, and information. The opinions expressed in this article are my own, as are any errors of fact.

² Richard Hacken, 'The Current State of European Studies in North America and of Scholarly Publishing in Western Europe', *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, Vol. 24, no. 3 (May 1998), pp. 201–207.

³ For the English version of this talk, see 27. ABDOS-Tagung (Göttingen, 18. bis 21. Mai 1998): *Referate und Beiträge*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Osteuropa-Abteilung, 1998, pp. 205–216.

brarianship in the United States. In other words, it is an attempt to see the big picture. An admittedly idiosyncratic attempt, since it reflects my own training and professional experience as a Russian and Soviet affairs specialist. Nevertheless, I hope that it will serve as a starting point for further discussion of the issues facing Slavic librarians in the United States and other countries in the post-Cold War period.

Background

In the words of one chronicler, 'Slavic studies were slow in making a formal appearance in American colleges and universities.'⁴ The forerunners of today's academic programs can be traced as far back as the mid-1890s, and there were Slavic language programs at a number of American universities by 1914. It would be an exaggeration, therefore, to argue that Slavic studies did not exist in the United States until World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. It would be closer to the mark to say that the field did not come into its own as an independent discipline until the 1940s and even later. Despite the presence of a few luminaries on the academic landscape in the 1920s and 1930s, Slavic studies were not well represented at American universities during the interwar years, and many American specialists of this period received their early training in Germany, France, the Baltic states, or the Soviet Union itself. For example, the diplomat and historian George F. Kennan trained as a Russian specialist in Berlin and Riga in the 1920s and early 1930s; his colleague Charles Bohlen trained in Paris.⁵

For obvious reasons this changed during and immediately after World War II, when the international situation forced the United States to develop a home-grown cohort of Slavic specialists. The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) was founded in late December 1941, three weeks after Pearl Harbor and America's entry into World War II. (It had been preceded in 1938 by the formation of the Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies—the predecessor of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies.) The war also brought the London-based *Slavonic and East European Review* from England to the United States for the duration of the conflict—a temporary change of venue that eventually inspired American Slavists to start their own journal, the *American Slavic and East European Review*, in 1948. Finally, the war produced the academic hybrid known as area studies—a combination of history, language, literature, economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science. It could plausibly be argued that the first center for Russian stud-

⁴ Clarence A. Manning, *A History of Slavic Studies in the United States* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1957), p. 17.

⁵ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925–1950*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1967. Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929–1969* (New York: Norton, 1973).

ies in the United States was the USSR Division of the Research and Analysis Branch of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS).⁶ This department of the United States' first modern intelligence service supplied a model and much of the personnel for the first academic centers for Russian studies, which were established in 1946 and 1948 at Columbia University and Harvard University respectively. They were soon followed by programs at other large universities. Despite the emergence of Slavic studies as an academic discipline in its own right in the years after World War II, the rate of growth in the first postwar decade was slow. Even as late as the mid-1950s there were only a dozen or so universities in the United States that had a professorship wholly devoted to Russian and East European history.⁷

The Sputnik alarm of 1957–58 changed all that. In response to the perceived 'Soviet threat', but also as a result of new opportunities for academic and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union and the countries of East-Central Europe, the U.S. federal government and private funding agencies poured money into the creation and expansion of Slavic studies programs at colleges and universities. These were the years that saw the passage of the National Defense Education Act (1958), the establishment of the U.S. Department of Education's Title VI program in Area Studies (1965), and the metamorphosis in 1968 of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants into the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), a non-profit organization founded to administer academic exchanges between the United States, the Soviet Union, and the countries of East-Central Europe.

For a number of reasons—the erosion of the foreign-policy consensus in the United States in the wake of the Vietnam War and a growing rift between government and academe, also a legacy of Vietnam—the field endured a difficult period both intellectually and materially in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Soviet-Eastern European Research and Training Act of 1983—better known as the Title VIII program of the U.S. Department of State—halted the de-

⁶ Barry M. Katz, 'Social Science in One Country: The USSR Division', in *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services 1942–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 137–164. See also Norman Naimark, 'On the 50th Anniversary: The Origins of the AAASS', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 5 (November 1998), pp. 1–5.

⁷ Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., 'Memoir: Swimming With The Current', *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 149–170. For more on the history of Slavic studies in the United States, see Clarence A. Manning, *A History of Slavic Studies in the United States* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1957); *American Research on Russia*, edited by Harold H. Fisher (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959); Dorothy Atkinson, 'Understanding the Soviets: The Development of U.S. Expertise on the USSR', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (Summer 1987), pp. 183–201; Dorothy Atkinson, 'Soviet and East European Studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 47, no. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 397–413; Robert F. Byrnes, *A History of Russian and East European Studies in the United States: Selected Essays* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994); Horace G. Lunt, 'On the History of Slavic Studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 294–301; and Stephen F. Cohen, *Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities* (New York: Norton, 1985).

cline and led to a revival of interest and student enrollments.⁸ By 1987, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic studies (AAASS)—itself a product of the boom years—listed programs in Slavic studies at 225 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada.⁹ The oldest and best-known of these are the Russian Institute (now the Harriman Institute) at Columbia University and the Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center for Russian Studies) at Harvard University, but dozens of excellent programs were set up at other colleges and universities as well.

The field's visibility rose in the latter half of the 1980s with the advent of Gorbachev and the policies of reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The changes in the Soviet mass media provided an especially rich source of material for comment and research. Formerly dull newspapers and magazines started publishing stories on previously taboo topics. Soviet television became unpredictable—and interesting. Every day brought new revelations in almost all spheres of Soviet life. The spate of new material from the Soviet Union and East-Central Europe resulted in a similar outpouring in the West of articles and books that fell into the category best described by the Russian word *publitsistika*—something between scholarship and quotidian journalism. In the United States, Russian and East European specialists were suddenly everywhere—on television, in the newspapers, on the radio. Enrollments in Slavic studies departments at colleges and universities went up. *Glasnost'* and *perestroika* entered the popular lexicon.

This brief but exciting spell in the limelight came to an end in 1991–1992, after the revolutions of 1989 in East-Central Europe and the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War, Slavic studies in the United States entered a prolonged period of readjustment from which it is only now beginning to emerge.

The Current State of Slavic Studies in the U.S.

Assessing the current state of Slavic studies in the United States is a classic case of the glass being half-empty or half-full, depending on who is doing the looking.

There is plenty of evidence to support the glass-half-empty view. The years since 1991 have seen a sharp drop in public interest in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union in the United States. This has been reflected

⁸ 'The Title VIII program, funneling a modest \$4.5 million annually into the field for the last several years, has had a critical role in reversing the catastrophic decline' (Dorothy Atkinson, 'Soviet and East European Studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 47, no. 2 [Fall 1988], p. 412). Atkinson points to the rise in the number of doctorates awarded—from a low of just over 200 in 1983 to just under 300 in 1987—as evidence of the field's revival in the 1980s.

⁹ Dorothy Atkinson, *AAASS Directory of Programs in Soviet & East European Studies, 1987–89* (Stanford, California, 1987), p. iv.

in decreased coverage of the region in the mainstream news media, a decline in student enrollments in Russian and East European courses at colleges and universities, and an apparent decline in the number of people in the profession (membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies dropped from approximately 4,000 in 1989 to 3,300 in 1999¹⁰). Federal and private funding for the field also dropped in the latter half of the 1990s, to roughly the same level it stood at in the mid-1980s.

These developments have many members of the profession worried. 'In some ways,' wrote Henry R. Huttenbach in 1998, 'the profession vis-à-vis the public is being forced back to where it was in 1941, prior to World War II (according to the U.S. calendar).' Huttenbach warned of a 'present trend towards a neo-ignorance' of the Slavic world among U.S. policy-makers and the general public.¹¹ Or, as Edward Keenan of Harvard University put it, 'Americans have lost interest in what we do.'¹² Others take a somewhat more hopeful view. Remarking on the growing cohort of college-age people in the United States, Laura Janda of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has written that 'Slavists are swimming in a fecund gene-pool of fresh cross-disciplinary issues, and these issues can spawn career paths for a swelling student population.'¹³

To be sure, Slavic studies is not the only field that has suffered in the aftermath of the Cold War. The very concept of area studies—the interdisciplinary study of foreign countries and regions—has come under attack from other quarters of the academy. Some political scientists allege that work in area studies has been 'journalistic', 'atheoretical', and 'generally mushy'.¹⁴ Area-studies specialists contend that general conclusions about politics and abstract political-science models need to be grounded in fact. Two things seem certain: the dispute over area studies will continue, and area studies will not soon regain the prominence it enjoyed during the Cold War. Thanks in part to the advent of nuclear weapons and the homogenizing effect of modern mass media and communications technologies (including the Internet and the World-Wide Web), the great-power conflicts and bitter ideological rivalries that characterized most of the twentieth century appear to be a thing of the past. We have not reached 'the end of history', in Francis Fukuyama's notorious phrase,

¹⁰ Ken Ringle, 'Soviet Scholars Left Out In the Thaw', *Washington Post*, 13 November 1999, Section C, p. 01.

¹¹ Henry R. Huttenbach, 'Editorial Note: Declining Interest/Growing Importance', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (June 1998), p. 190.

¹² Edward L. Keenan, 'What Have We Learned?', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 1–6.

¹³ Laura A. Janda, 'Reforming the Area Studies Curriculum: Defining Issues and Objectives', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 39, no. 2 (March 1999), pp. 1–4.

¹⁴ Christopher Shea, 'Political Scientists Clash Over Value of Area Studies', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 January 1997, p. A13.

but it is clear that we have reached the end of history as we knew it in the years 1914–1989.¹⁵

There is also evidence to support the glass-half-full view. Despite the problems outlined above, Slavic studies in the United States appears to be in good intellectual shape. According to historian Sheila Fitzpatrick of the University of Chicago, ‘the positive impact of 1991 has been enormous’, and not only in the field of history.¹⁶ The past ten years have seen exciting new work in a wide range of areas, including gender and women’s studies, regional and nationalities studies, social and cultural history (including work on social classes and social identities), popular culture, grass-roots political change in cities and outlying regions, and the politics of economic transition. Furthermore, the political upheavals of 1989–1991 led to the opening of previously inaccessible archival materials. The result has been valuable new scholarship on past events and critical re-examinations of the field as a whole.¹⁷ The collapse of communism in Russia and East-Central Europe has also enabled economists and political scientists to study the emergence of new political, social, and economic structures on the ground and in real time. In February 1998, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*—the weekly newspaper of record on developments in academe in the United States—published an article on the resurgence of Russian studies at American universities. The article concentrated on the emergence of a new generation of promising young scholars who are working on some of the issues mentioned above, particularly regional politics and the politics of economic and social transition. The author of the article noted, however, that this is an intellectual, not a material, renaissance, writing that ‘one irony of this fecund period in Russian studies is that as the research grows more interesting, enrollment in undergraduate courses is shrinking’.¹⁸

One good index of changes in the field is the list of doctoral dissertations that has been published every year (with the exception of a gap in the mid-1990s) in the *Slavic Review*. In 1990–1991, 69 dissertations in Soviet foreign policy and national-security issues were submitted at universities in the United States and Canada, compared with 33 dissertations in Russian and Soviet

¹⁵ Francis Fukuyama, ‘The End of History?’, *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 1–18.

¹⁶ Sheila Fitzpatrick, ‘“Life Has Become More Cheerful, Comrades”: 1991, Before and After’, *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (January 1998), pp. 1–4.

¹⁷ See, for example, Stephen Kotkin, ‘1991 and the Russian Revolution: Sources, Conceptual Categories, Analytical Frameworks’, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 70, no. 2 (June 1998), pp. 384–425. For a similar exercise from the British perspective, see Steve Smith, ‘Writing the History of the Russian Revolution after the Fall of Communism’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 46, no. 4 (1994), pp. 563–578.

¹⁸ Christopher Shea, ‘New Faces and New Methodologies Invigorate Russian Studies’, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 20 February 1998, p. A18. For a strongly dissenting view, see Stephen F. Cohen, ‘Russian Studies Without Russia’, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 15, no. 1 (January–March 1999), pp. 37–55.

history and 58 dissertations in Russian language and literature. By 1996, the balance had shifted decisively in favor of history and literature. In that year, only 8 dissertations on Russian foreign policy and national-security issues were accepted at U.S. and Canadian universities, compared with 34 dissertations in Russian and Soviet history and 59 in Russian language and literature.

It is also useful to leaf through recent issues of the *Slavic Review*, the *Russian Review*, the *East European Quarterly*, and other scholarly journals having to do with the region. Comparing the contents of recent issues with issues from ten years ago or more, one can see the shifts in research trends. One can also see changes in research methodology, particularly the greater use of archives in Russia and East-Central Europe. For example: of the thirty-four articles that appeared in the *Slavic Review* in 1990, only four cited archival materials, and two of those cited archives in the United States and western Europe. By contrast, thirteen of the twenty-seven articles that appeared in the 1998 volume of the *Slavic Review* were based on research conducted in archives in Russia and East-Central Europe, including provincial archives. Warnings against 'archival fetishism' (Stephen Kotkin's term) are well taken; still, it seems clear that the availability of previously unavailable archival materials has been a good thing. In Fitzpatrick's words, the opening of the archives 'bounce[d] us abruptly from being like medievalists, working with fragmentary evidence and highly stylized, laconic chronicles, to modern historians . . . Whole fields of inquiry, hitherto closed to us, became available.'¹⁹

Another positive post-Cold War development has been growing collaboration between American scholars and their counterparts in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is increasingly commonplace to see American and East European or Russian scholars collaborating on books and articles or teaching at universities in each other's countries. This is especially true in the field of history. The collaboration is not limited to scholars, however. As part of its series on the history of the Cold War, in 1997 the Yale University Press published a book by the former chiefs of American and Soviet intelligence in Berlin on their organizations' operations in that city during the years 1946–1961. Based largely on declassified American and Russian documents, this book—David E. Murphy, Sergei A. Kondrashev, and George Bailey, *Battleground Berlin: CIA vs. KGB in the Cold War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997—offers a fascinating glimpse into an obscure chapter of Cold War history. Like other first-person accounts, it also provides a useful complement to scholarly treatments of related subjects (e.g. Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

¹⁹ Fitzpatrick (note 13), p. 2.

Slavic Studies and Slavic Librarianship

Simply put, the mission of Slavic studies in the United States is to support education and research on the Slavic world and East-Central Europe, promote public awareness and understanding of the region, and contribute to intelligent governmental policy-making. In the words of Horace G. Lunt, emeritus professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Harvard University, the mission of Slavic studies has been 'to make Americans aware of the Slavic world and its culture, as a matter of general significance, and to train a few Americans in the languages and the history so that dealings with Slavic countries can be conducted intelligently'.²⁰

If the mission of Slavic studies is to promote scholarship on and public understanding of the region, the task of Slavic librarianship has traditionally been to support this mission by identifying, acquiring, and organizing the raw material of education and scholarship: books, journals, and, increasingly, electronic resources.

In some respects, the history of Slavic librarianship in the United States has paralleled the history of Slavic studies, with a sustained period of growth and expansion beginning in the late 1950s and continuing well into the 1980s. This can be seen in the growth of Slavic library collections. The authors of a 1957 study identified five major Russian and East European library collections (50,000 or more volumes) in the United States: the Library of Congress, Columbia University, the Hoover Institution, the New York Public Library, and Harvard University.²¹ A similar census conducted today would have to add the collections at the University of California at Berkeley (600,000+ Slavic and East European volumes), the University of California at Los Angeles (300,000+ volumes), Stanford University (over one million 'information units'), the University of Washington at Seattle (380,000+ volumes), the University of Kansas (300,000+ volumes), the University of Wisconsin at Madison (550,000+ volumes), the University of Chicago (525,000+ volumes), the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (638,000+ volumes), Indiana University (525,000–550,000 volumes), the University of Michigan (376,000+ volumes), Princeton University (250,000+ volumes), and Yale University (600,000+ volumes).²² There are also archives and special collections devoted to Slavic and East European topics at large and small universities

²⁰ Horace G. Lunt, 'On the History of Slavic Studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (Summer 1987), p. 296.

²¹ Meville J. Ruggles and Vaclav Mostecky, *Russian and East European Publications in the Libraries of the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 297. This census was the first—and, unfortunately, the last—attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of Slavic and East European library collections in the United States.

²² A list of Slavic and East European library collections in the United States and other countries can be found at <http://kathleen.slavic.pitt.edu/~aatseel/libraries.html>.

alike (examples: the Osip Mandelshtam Papers at the Princeton University Library, the Alliance College Polish Collection at the University of Pittsburgh, and the Amherst Center for Russian Culture at Amherst College).²³

In a 1996 article in *Solanus*, the British journal of Slavic librarianship, June Pachuta Farris of the University of Chicago Library identified six specific tasks of the Slavic librarian: (1) to provide the library's primary users with the materials and information they need to conduct their study, teaching, and research; (2) to maintain a reasonable and representative level of acquisitions of newer materials in all of the languages and from all of the countries in our field; (3) to maintain in-depth coverage in those areas of the humanities and social sciences that have formed the basis of the library's academic collections; (4) to build collections in new areas of research; (5) to preserve the library's collections using traditional and new technologies; and (6) to continue to make the library's collections as physically and bibliographically accessible as possible, using traditional and new technologies.²⁴

Although these tasks have not changed, the events of the past decade have made some of them more complex. The day-to-day difficulties of Slavic librarianship in the post-Cold War period have been the subject of much debate in the professional journals and online discussion groups. The main problems appear to be the erosion of bibliographic control, the disappearance of established vendors and their replacement by a bewildering number of new and untested firms, stagnant or inadequate acquisitions budgets, and ineffective exchange programs.

1. Bibliographic control. One of the casualties of the collapse of communism in Russia and East-Central Europe was the system of bibliographic control. In the old days, when state publishing houses had a monopoly on the publishing business, it was fairly easy to find out what had been published in which subject areas. Since the fall of communism and the spread of independent, commercial publishing companies, finding out what is available has become more difficult, and Slavic librarians have had to resort to a patchwork of sources of varying quality and dependability.²⁵

2. Vendors. The events of 1989–1991 and their aftermath upset longstand-

²³ For information about these collections, go to: <http://infoshare1.princeton.edu:2003/libraries/firestone/rbrc/aids/mandelshtam/Mandelshtam.html>; <http://www.library.pitt.edu/libraries/ac/ac.html>; and <http://www.amherst.edu/~acrc/menu.html>, respectively.

²⁴ June Pachuta Farris, 'Slavic Studies Librarians in North America: Current Challenges and Future Expectations', *Solanus*, New Series, Vol. 10, 1996, p. 181.

²⁵ For a concise overview of this and other questions having to do with Slavic acquisitions, see Thomas D. Kilton, 'Selecting and Acquiring Materials from Abroad', in Karen A. Schmidt, editor, *Understanding the Business of Library Acquisitions*, 2nd edition (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1999), pp. 100–142.

ing relationships between Slavic librarians in the United States and commercial vendors in the U.S. and Europe, some of whom went out of business. It has taken a few years for Slavic librarians to find new sources of supply, although the worst crisis appears to be over.

3. Budgets. Acquisitions budgets for Slavic materials at most institutions have stagnated or declined since 1991. Even relatively stable budgets can be problematic, since prices for books and serials from East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union have risen since 1991, as have postage costs.
4. Exchange programs. Exchanges have become an especially controversial topic among Slavic librarians in the United States since the end of the Cold War. Supporters of exchanges argue that they provide cultural and professional benefits that cannot easily be quantified, although some proponents have attempted to show that exchanges can be cost-effective, or at least no less cost-effective than traditional purchases.²⁶ Skeptics argue that exchanges are inefficient, ineffective, and consume staff time and resources that could be better applied elsewhere. Exchanges, they say, should be replaced by straightforward business arrangements. In the words of Stephen D. Corrsin of Wayne State University, 'money is used because it works'.²⁷ The observer is left to conclude that while exchanges may be difficult to justify financially, many institutions will continue to support them out of the conviction that the cultural benefits outweigh the material costs. Given the fluid publishing environment in Russia and East-Central Europe, exchange partners can also play a useful role as on-the-ground acquisitions agents and sources of information on the local publishing scene.²⁸ Perhaps the last word in the exchange vs. purchase debate should be given to Murlin Croucher of Indiana University, who pointed out during a lively online discussion of the topic that purchases and exchanges are, in the end, equally unsatisfactory. In Croucher's words, 'neither system works'.²⁹

²⁶ Tatjana Lorkovic and Eric A. Johnson, 'Serial and Book Exchanges with the Former Soviet Union', *Serials Librarian*, Vol. 31, no. 4 (1997), pp. 59–87.

²⁷ Stephen D. Corrsin, 'Notes for the 1997 AAASS Exchanges/Purchases Panel', 29th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Seattle, Washington, 20–23 November 1997. Availability: send e-mail request to slavlibs@library.berkeley.edu.

²⁸ My thanks to Robert H. Burger of the Slavic and East European Library at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for this point. See also Karen Rondestvedt, 'Russian-American Book and Serials Exchanges Viewed from the United States', paper read at Seminar for Slavic Department Librarians, Moscow, Russia, 5 October 1998. Availability: send e-mail request to slavlibs@library.berkeley.edu.

²⁹ Murlin Croucher, message to slavlibs@library.berkeley.edu, 22 June 1997.

Slavic Librarianship, the Internet, and the World-Wide Web

Through a curious quirk of history, the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War coincided with the birth of a powerful new communications medium: the World-Wide Web. The advent of the Internet and the Web has fundamentally changed librarianship in general and Slavic librarianship in particular. Thanks to the Internet, Slavic librarians in the United States and their colleagues in other countries can remain in virtual contact throughout the year, independently of conferences and meetings. Slavic librarians use the Internet to trade information about vendors and book prices, verify bibliographic citations, request copies of materials not in their collections, and discuss issues affecting the profession generally. The Slavic Librarians E-Mail Forum was started in 1991 by Allan Urbanic of the University of California at Berkeley. It now has over 250 members in the United States, Canada, Eastern and Western Europe, and the former Soviet Union. Newcomers are welcome; the only requirement is that members work at colleges, universities, or other non-profit institutions and have some professional connection with Slavic librarianship or information management. In its almost nine years of existence, the Forum has proven its worth repeatedly. Reference questions and requests for bibliographic citations or copies of articles are almost always answered the same day, often within a couple of hours.

The array of Slavic offerings on the Web continues to grow, outstripping the ability of even the most diligent monitors to keep track of it. In a 1997 article, Ingo Manteuffel briefly described over 140 Web sites in North America, Europe, East-Central Europe, and the states of the former Soviet Union that are devoted to Slavic studies.³⁰ Many of these sites are still active, but many are not, or are doing business at new addresses. Perhaps the best-known gateway to Slavic and East European resources on the World-Wide Web is REESWeb, which is maintained at the University of Pittsburgh by Slavic Bibliographer Karen Rondestvedt.³¹ Keeping REESWeb up to date is a full-time—perhaps even a Sisyphean—job.³²

It is now possible to read attractive online versions of Russian and East European newspapers and magazines. Using World-Wide Web plug-ins (accessory software programs, often available for free) librarians, scholars, and students can use their desktop computers to listen to broadcasts in Russian, Polish, and other languages, and watch videos. They can participate in mod-

³⁰ Ingo Manteuffel, 'World Wide Web-Ressourcen zu Ostmitteleuropa und zur Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Staaten: Einführung, Voraussetzungen und Angebote', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 47, no. 2 (February 1997), pp. 103–115.

³¹ <http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/reesweb/>

³² Karen Rondestvedt, 'Growing Pains at REESWeb: Thoughts on Restructuring a Link Site Which Has Outgrown Its Organization', *Journal of Internet Cataloging*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (1998), pp. 47–57.

erated online discussion groups on a wide variety of topics in our field; for example, the Michigan State University-based *H-Net: Humanities & Social Sciences Online* offers several discussion networks that touch directly or indirectly on Slavic studies, including H-Russia (Russian History), HABSBURG (devoted to the 'culture and history of the Habsburg Monarchy and its successor states in central Europe from 1500 to the present'), and H-German (German History).³³ They can read online descriptions of archives in Russia and East-Central Europe, and even peruse detailed finding aids. And they can order copies of hard-to-obtain materials through online document-delivery services.

There are gaps in this impressive array of resources, however. Five years ago, I remarked that the number of online bibliographic resources in Slavic studies (including online library catalogs in Russia and East-Central Europe) was relatively small.³⁴ This is still true, but the situation is improving. The Libweb list of library Web servers around the world currently has links to 64 libraries in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, including the national libraries of Belarus, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Russia, Serbia, and Slovenia.³⁵ The GABRIEL gateway to the national libraries of Europe contains links to these libraries, as well as information about (and, where available, links to) the national libraries of Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Macedonia, and Romania.³⁶ The Russian@Rus Web site (formerly called AU!) has links to over 90 libraries in the Russian Federation, including many regional libraries.³⁷ The fact that a library has a Web page does not necessarily mean that it has an online catalog, however, and there are many library Web sites in Russia and Eastern Europe that provide general information about their collections but no way to search them. Even when an online catalog is available, trying to search it can be a frustrating experience, primarily because of problems with incompatible keyboard drivers and character sets. These difficulties can be overcome, but the effort is not for the easily discouraged. One can only hope that the rapid evolution of the Web will bring improvements in this area.

Progress is being made in other areas. In addition to ABSEES Online, researchers can now access an online version of the *European Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*.³⁸ Together, the two bibliographies will soon cover much of the recent (since 1990) scholarship in our field published

³³ <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/>

³⁴ Aaron Trehub, 'Slavic Librarianship and the World-Wide Web: Creating Content,' in *Libraries in Europe's Post-Communist Countries: Their International Context*, Krakow: Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne, 1996, pp. 211–217.

³⁵ <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Libweb/>

³⁶ <http://portico.bl.uk/gabriel/en/welcome.html>

³⁷ <http://www.atrus.ru/rus/themes.asp?id=175>

³⁸ <http://www.library.uiuc.edu/absees/>; <http://dodge.upmf-grenoble.fr:8001/fra/themes/bee.html>

north of the Rio Grande and west of the Oder-Neisse Line. RussGUS, a large (170,000+ records) bibliographic database of German-language materials on Russia and the former Soviet Union, formerly housed at the Freie Universität Berlin, recently moved and can now be accessed through a Web server at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.³⁹ Finally, the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS/INION) bibliographies are available online (for a fee) through the Research Libraries Group's CitaDel collection of specialized databases in the social sciences and humanities.⁴⁰

For all its usefulness, however, the Internet is a mixed blessing. It has facilitated communication among Slavic librarians and helped to restore a measure of bibliographic control. At the same time, it has led to the proliferation of expensive electronic resources and the crowding-out of more traditional tools. Some of the new resources are very good and represent a substantial improvement over their print or microform counterparts. Others do not. Either way, evaluating electronic resources—comparing them with the traditional products they purport to replace and figuring out the intricacies of the licensing agreement—takes time.⁴¹ There is also the problem of back issues. When a library buys a book or a serial, it acquires a tangible product that can be used even after the library's subscription has expired. Online resources are ephemeral. They are there only as long as one pays for them; and in most cases the library that cancels its subscription cannot access back issues it has already paid for. In short, online resources put an additional burden on the already inadequate budgets of Slavic librarians. They can divert money away from less advanced but more stable—and in some cases more useful—materials. Resisting the allure of digital resources can be difficult, especially if faculty members or other library departments are lobbying for their acquisition. In Bradley Schaffner's words, 'librarians must avoid the danger of prioritizing the acquisition of electronic resources over the acquisition of equally important publications which are not digitalized.'⁴²

Electronic resources also place an additional instructional burden on librarians. Reading a book or journal is an intuitive activity. Locating and navigating a Web site, or downloading and installing a new font, or searching an online database, are not. Instead of making things easier for patrons, the technology has presented them with a new set of challenges. The Slavic Reference Service at the Slavic and East European Library at the University of Illinois

³⁹ <http://www.ib.hu-berlin.de/%7epbruhn/russgus.htm>

⁴⁰ <http://www.rlg.org/cit-ras.html>

⁴¹ For the factors that go into evaluating an electronic reference resource, see Mark D. Steinberg and Helen F. Sullivan's review of K. G. Saur's *Complete Archival Guide to the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art* on CD-ROM in the *Slavic Review*, Vol. 56, no. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 350–352.

⁴² Bradley L. Schaffner, 'The Effects of the Digital Revolution on Libraries and Research,' *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 3 (May 1998), pp. 1–3.

at Urbana-Champaign typically handles around 3,000 reference questions a year. According to its manager, Helen Sullivan, the service now spends up to fifty percent of its time helping patrons with computer-related problems.⁴³

Finally, the growing popularity of electronic resources contains a more subtle danger: the possibility that the availability or non-availability of research materials in electronic form will determine the research agendas of students and future scholars in the field. In other words, there is a danger that the medium will drive the scholarship. There are signs that this is already happening. Schaffner, head of the Slavic Department at the University of Kansas Libraries, writes that 'on several occasions, students have asked for assistance in changing the focus of their research to a topic that could be searched using only electronic sources.'⁴⁴

I share Schaffner's and Sullivan's reservations about electronic resources, and could add a few of my own. Although this complex question is outside the scope of this essay, I am skeptical about predictions of the death of the book and the demise of traditional print-based libraries. Most of the human record is on paper or in microform. Converting it all to digital form, even if it were technically feasible, would be prohibitively expensive. Some sort of triage is inevitable. Nor am I convinced that all digital resources are inherently superior to their printed or microform counterparts. The long-term effects of digitization on education and research are unclear. For my part, I suspect that tangible, linear artifacts—books—have distinct cognitive advantages over Web sites and hypertext, at least when it comes to the transmission and assimilation of knowledge. Precisely because they lack interactive embellishments, books induce the reader to use his or her imagination to achieve the kind of original insights on which knowledge and scholarship are based. There is a danger that excessive reliance on the Web as a tool for teaching and research will erode the capacity to reason critically.

That said, electronic resources are here to stay (or perhaps not, if concerns about their long-term accessibility turn out to be valid). There is not much that we can do to reduce their appeal to students and researchers. Our task as librarians is to encourage the production of high-quality electronic products (with liberal licensing policies) and to see to it that poor products or products with overly restrictive policies do not flourish.

Above all, we need to turn the new technologies to our advantage. One way to do this is to create new online resources in Slavic studies. This is not as improbable as it may sound. The Web is a powerful tool for publishing

⁴³ Helen Sullivan, personal communication, 15 November 1999. The Slavic Reference Service can be found at <http://www.library.uiuc.edu/spx/srs.htm>.

⁴⁴ Bradley Schaffner, 'Electronic Resources: A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing?', in Herbert Achleitner and Roger Wyatt, editors, *Information and Restructuring for Democracy* (Scarecrow Press) (forthcoming).

and disseminating information, and the experience of ABSEES Online and the *European Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies* has shown that it is possible to create high-quality online databases with fairly modest resources. Furthermore, the last two or three years have seen the appearance of increasingly powerful and user-friendly commercial software packages for linking back-end databases directly to the Web and controlling how the records are displayed. Librarians can also take advantage of commercially available software programs that enable users to design professional-quality Web sites.

The Web has also created interesting possibilities for international collaboration in the development of new online services. Collaboration in the production of reference works is nothing new. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is a monument to scholarly collaboration, as is the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *The Handbook of Latin American Studies* is compiled with the help of more than 130 contributing editors from around the world.⁴⁵ However, the Web has made collaboration easier, and a number of reference works have already taken advantage of it. Some examples of Web-based collaborative reference works in the social sciences and the humanities are the Social Science Information Gateway (SOSIG);⁴⁶ the Global Legal Information Network (GLIN);⁴⁷ and the Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale/International Repertory of Music Literature (RILM).⁴⁸ SOSIG and GLIN are free services; the RILM is fee-based.

Like SOSIG, GLIN, and the RILM, ABSEES Online is adopting the collaborative model. The editors are currently developing a Web-based workform—complete with pre-formatted picklists for document type, language, journal, publisher, series title, date, and subject headings—for creating and submitting bibliographic records from anywhere in the world.

We expect that the new system will be in place by the fall of 2000. When it is, it will bring a long-standing goal within reach. In 1993, Prosser Gifford of the Library of Congress outlined an international project to create a single integrated database combining national library catalogs in East-Central Europe with Slavic studies bibliographies in the West.⁴⁹ Dubbed WEBNET (for World East European Bibliographic Network), the project failed, largely because of technical problems (the first graphical Web browser, NCSA Mosaic, had not yet appeared), a lack of coordination among the participants, and the rapid pace of political change in the region. Thanks to the interactive properties of the Web, the vision behind WEBNET can now be realized. The

⁴⁵ <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/hlas/>

⁴⁶ http://scout18.cs.wisc.edu/sosig_mirror/welcome.html

⁴⁷ <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/law/GLINV1/GLIN.html>

⁴⁸ <http://www.rilm.org/index.html>

⁴⁹ Prosser Gifford, 'The Libraries of Eastern Europe: Information and Democracy', *Representations*, no. 42 (Spring 1993), pp. 100–106.

content is there; so is the technology. What is needed is a plan for bringing them together—and the resources and the will to do it.

Conclusion

At the end of her 1996 overview of Slavic librarianship in North America, June Pachuta Farris predicted that the latter half of the decade would see a better understanding of exchange programs, improved bibliographic and physical access to special collections and archives, improved bibliographic control over published materials in countries of interest, a more stable infrastructure for publishers and commercial vendors, a more stable pricing system, and a continuing increase in communication and cooperation among Slavic librarians around the world.

For the most part, these predictions have come true.⁵⁰ Slavic librarians in the United States have managed to adapt to the post-Cold War environment. The grim scenarios envisaged by some observers just a few years ago—of ever-worsening bibliographic chaos and collections in the United States slipping into irreversible decline—have not come to pass. To be sure, some things are more difficult than they were ten or fifteen years ago, but the profession is coping.

The Cold War is over, and with it the extraordinary prominence of Slavic studies in the United States. To paraphrase William Butler Yeats, Slavic studies—and Slavic librarianship—have experienced a ‘withering into the truth’ since 1991. Some observers may regard this as a return to normalcy; others may view it as a sign of decline. So far at least, the process appears to have been rather good for the field, with the drop in external funding and student enrollments being partly offset by a more lively intellectual atmosphere and new opportunities for research and scholarly collaboration. In much the same way, the end of the Cold War has given Slavic librarians in the United States the opportunity to rethink their mission, forge new alliances with colleagues in other countries and other disciplines, and explore the possibilities offered by the new information technologies. The task now is to exploit this opportunity.

⁵⁰ June Pachuta Farris, e-mail communication, 2 March 1999.

Selected Sources

- AAASS *Directory of Programs in Soviet and East European Studies*, 1987–89. Stanford, CA: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1987.
- AAASS *Directory of Programs in Soviet and East European Studies*, 1990–92. Stanford, CA: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1990.
- AAASS *Directory of Programs in Russian, Eurasian and East European Studies*, 1993–95. Stanford, CA: American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1993.
- Dorothy Atkinson, 'Understanding the Soviets: The Development of U.S. Expertise on the USSR', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 10, no. 3 (Summer 1987), pp. 183–201.
- Dorothy Atkinson, 'Soviet and East European Studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 47, no. 2 (Fall 1988), pp. 397–413.
- Robert F. Byrnes, *A History of Russian and East European Studies in the United States: Selected Essays*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1994.
- Stephen F. Cohen, 'Russian Studies Without Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 15, no. 1 (January–March 1999), pp. 37–55.
- Stephen F. Cohen, *Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities*. New York: Norton, 1985.
- Stephen D. Corrsin, 'Notes for the 1997 AAASS Exchanges/Purchases Panel', 29th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic studies (AAASS), Seattle, Washington, 20–23 November 1997.
- Alexander Dallin, 'Bias and Blunders in American Studies on the USSR', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 32, no. 3 (September 1973), pp. 560–576.
- June Pachuta Farris, 'Slavic studies Librarians in North America: Current Challenges and Future Expectations', *Solanus*, New Series, Vol. 10 (1996), pp. 178–187.
- Harold H. Fisher (editor), *American Research on Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959.
- Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., 'M memoir: Swimming With The Current', *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, Vol. 21, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 149–170.
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, '“Life Has Become More Cheerful, Comrades”: 1991, Before and After', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (January 1998), pp. 1–4.
- Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 1–18.
- Prosser Gifford, 'The Libraries of Eastern Europe: Information and Democracy', *Representations*, no. 42 (Spring 1993), pp. 100–106.
- Robert T. Huber, 'The State of the Field and Who “Got It Wrong”', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 36, no. 3 (May 1996), pp. 5–7.
- Henry R. Huttenbach, 'Editorial Note: Declining Interest/Growing Importance', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (June 1998), p. 190.
- Laura A. Janda, 'Reforming the Area Studies Curriculum: Defining Issues and Objectives', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 39, no. 2 (March 1999), pp. 1–4.
- Barry M. Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services 1942–1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Edward L. Keenan, 'What Have We Learned?', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 35, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 1–6.
- Thomas D. Kilton, 'Selecting and Acquiring Materials from Abroad', in *Understanding the Business of Library Acquisitions*, Karen A. Schmidt, editor, 2nd edition (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1999), pp. 100–142.
- Tatjana Lorkovic and Eric A. Johnson, 'Serial and Book Exchanges with the Former Soviet Union', *Serials Librarian*, Vol. 31, no. 4 (1997), pp. 59–87.
- Horace G. Lunt, 'On the History of Slavic studies in the United States', *Slavic Review*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (Summer 1987), pp. 294–301.
- Clarence A. Manning, *A History of Slavic Studies in the United States*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1957.
- Charles Morley, *Guide to Research in Russian History*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1951.
- Norman Naimark, 'On the 50th Anniversary: The Origins of the AAASS', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 5 (November 1998), pp. 1–5.
- Margaret S. Olsen, 'The End of the Cold War and its Effects on Slavic and East European Collections in the West', *International Information & Library Review*, Vol. 27 (1995), pp. 89–112.
- Kenneth E. Roberts, 'Title VIII Support for NIS and East European Studies: Building U.S. Expertise for the Future', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 4 (September 1998), pp. 1–4.
- Melville J. Ruggles and Vaclav Mostecky, *Russian and East European Publications in the Libraries of the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.
- Bradley L. Schaffner, 'The Effects of the Digital Revolution on Libraries and Research', *AAASS NewsNet*, Vol. 38, no. 3 (May 1998), pp. 1–3.
- Christopher Shea, 'New Faces and New Methodologies Invigorate Russian Studies', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 20 February 1998, pp. A16–A18.
- Christopher Shea, 'Political Scientists Clash Over Value of Area Studies', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 January 1997, p. A13.
- Aaron Trehub, 'Slavic Librarianship and the World-Wide Web: Creating Content', in *Libraries in Europe's Post-Communist Countries: Their International Context* (Krakow: Polskie Towarzystwo Bibliologiczne, 1996), pp. 211–217.

Reviews

Beth Holmgren, *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland*. Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998. xviii, 240 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. \$45.00 (cloth), \$19.95 (paperback).

In *Rewriting Capitalism*, Beth Holmgren has succeeded in providing a fascinating and thought-provoking comparative investigation of Russian and Polish literatures under the impact of the mass market at the turn of the century. She states that her goal is to discuss how the 'Russian and Polish literatures attempted to rewrite capitalist role models and values that were already well established in the West, resisting or manipulating powerful market forces and thereby striving to retain some of their own distinctive worth' (p. xi). Much of the territory covered by her work is the rise of 'middlebrow' literature in both Poland and Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

She begins with the image of the merchant in Russian and Polish literatures. (For the Polish side, she discusses only literature produced in the Russian-ruled partition, the Congress Kingdom.) In the former case, she begins with Goncharov and Ostrovskii, and then moves to Gor'kii's and Chekhov's turn-of-the-century perspectives. The Polish chapter focuses on a single novel: Bolesław Prus's *The Doll*, which remains very much a chestnut of Polish literature. She then discusses in depth two popular romances of the first years of the twentieth century: for Russian, Anastasiia Verbitskaia, *Keys to Happiness*, and for Polish, Helena Mniszek, *The Leper*. Both were essentially popular romances, written for female, middle-class readers. For Holmgren, these novels 'qualify as representative hybrid texts not only because of their incredible popularity, but also because they constitute variations on the popular romance, a genre that over the last two centuries has become steeped in Western middle-class virtues and desires' (p. 99). In her final chapters, Holmgren moves on to yet another parallel between Russian and Polish literatures: the rise of the 'mass-circulation press [which] openly linked the word and the market, the privilege and accomplishment of reading with the venality of consumption Before its readers' very eyes, the mass-circulation press blatantly transubstantiated the printed word from semisacred text into a made and paid-for product accessible to anyone. What interests me most is how the Russian press controlled and represented this radical transformation, how it mediated the market's seemingly fundamental revaluation of the writer and the writer's work' (pp. 117–18). In pursuit of this point, she focuses on two literary periodicals: the Russian *Vol'f Bookstore News* (*Izvestiia knizhnykh magazinov tovarishchestva M. O. Vol'f*), and the Polish *Illustrated Weekly* (*Tygodnik Ilustrowany*).

These are all welcome aspects to Holmgren's fine book. There are, of course, other areas which, had they been more fully developed, could have added even more depth and interest. For example, she discusses the impact of ethnic change and conflict on the Polish side: the ambiguous and complex treatment of Jewish characters in Prus's novel, and the ways in which later Jewish authors seemed to continue the argument, started by Polish writers, about the Jewish role in the society and economy of Poland, well into the mid-twentieth century. (Titles cited are *The Brothers Ashkenazi*, by I. J. Singer, and *The Family Moskat*, by his brother, Isaac Bashevis Singer.)

One of the most important aspects of Holmgren's study is that she succeeds in treating Russian and Polish literature, in the Empire, as at least implicitly linked, rather than as two isolates. This is itself of great significance. Holmgren's work reminds us that Russia was not Russian, nor was Poland Polish. (That is, the Russian empire was more than half non-Russian in population, and Congress Poland no more than three-quarters ethnically Polish.) One gets the impression that Polish and Russian literature existed side by side, perhaps aware of one another but never (or rarely) acknowledging the links or similarities. Both looked to Europe for models and studiously ignored their neighbours. This would also fit the situation at the end of the twentieth century.

Holmgren begins and ends her book with comments on recent or current developments in Russian and Polish literature, since the collapse of communist rule in 1989–91. She states: 'it would seem that the postcommunist capitalization of Russian and Eastern Europe has toppled high culture into the marketplace' (p. ix). Her argument that the period of her study 'yields some valuable clues to the current transformation of literary culture in [contemporary] Russia and Eastern Europe' (p. xi) is particularly interesting.

STEPHEN D. CORRSIN

Wayne State University

Russian and Ukrainian Avant-Garde and Constructivist Books and Serials in the New York Public Library: A First Census and Listing of Artists Represented, compiled by Robert H. Davis, Jr. and Margaret Sandler; with an introduction by Gail Harrison Roman and Robert H. Davis, Jr. The New York Public Library Slavic, Baltic and Eurasian Resource Series. New York, Norman Ross Publishing Inc., 1998. xix + 75 pp. Bibliography. Catalogue. Illustrations. Index.

In today's electronic boom unprecedented facilities for the preservation of information are yet to be matched by tools for accessing that information in significantly targeted ways. While the benefits of placing bibliographic records on online catalogues, for instance, are undisputed, some scholars might still be frustrated by the too-broad scope of catalogue descriptors which fail to en-

compass specialist areas. Ultimately, there is still no substitute for the meticulous compilation of a subject-specific bibliography, which cannot simply be 'generated', electronically or otherwise, without the hard work and painstaking attention of specialists in a particular area. In the field of Russian and Ukrainian avant-garde art and literature Robert H. Davis, Gail Harrison Roman and Margaret Sandler have performed just such an invaluable service.

Russian and Ukrainian Avant-Garde and Constructivist Books and Serials in the New York Public Library: A First Census comprises a listing of 329 items (books and serials) published or otherwise produced between 1907 and 1970 by Russian or Ukrainian-born artists, and held in the New York Public Library. Full bibliographic details are provided, as are translations into English of titles, as well as information on illustrations and contributing artists. Descriptions are in the same format as those in Peter Hellyer's *Catalogue of Russian Avant-Garde Books 1912–1934* (The British Library, 1994); NYPL and British Library shelfmarks are given for those works of which both libraries have a copy. The material covered is wide-ranging: it includes musical sheets; Mikhail Chekhov's *Put' aktera* (1928), illustrated by El Lisitskii; children's literature by Kornei Chukovskii, typography in Parisian works by Il'iazd; Viktor Shklovskii's *Puteshestvie v stranu kino* (1926); and *Sovremennaia arkhitektura* (with constructivist designs by Gan), to name but a very few of the riches described. The catalogue is unfailingly accurate, although (as Davis and Sandler make clear) it is not exhaustive. It nevertheless reliably documents a valuable portion of the library's holding, as well as providing a valuably focused research tool. The catalogue is supported by an introduction, six illustrations, and four indexes: a title index; an index of artists (in addition this provides artists' dates of birth and death); an index of publishers; and finally, an index of items published outside St Petersburg and Moscow. Here the compilers clearly appreciate the imperative to allow for as many different ways of organising information as possible.

The introduction by Harrison Roman and Davis explains the range and historical significance of the holdings in two ways. Firstly, an overview of Russian cultural history is supplied, giving some indication of the historical circumstances of economic and political production which led to the book becoming a forum for innovation in the literary and visual arts. Secondly, the texts' provenance is described. Roman and Davis give particular attention to those scholars who, without the benefit of hindsight (or even, in the case of the Russianist scholar Avraham Yarmolinsky, personal liking), anticipated the historical value of the texts. Yarmolinsky's trip to the Soviet Union in 1923–1924, with poet Babette Deutsch and librarian Harry Miller Lyndenberg, and at the height of the NEP (New Economic Policy) period, was a turning point in the library's collection, leading to the acquisition of over 25,000 volumes in the 1920s alone. Information on the later history of acquisitions, and difficulties

faced during, for example, the Stalinist era, is also provided, as are details of Edward Kasinec's role in the acquisition of Ukrainian material. Harrison Roman and Davis appear to be on surer ground in their vivid narrative of the history that is specific to the library, than in their accounts of the broader cultural and historical situation in which the texts were produced (further information about the history of the avant-garde in Ukraine during this period might have been desirable). In particular, there is some confusion overall in the use of the terms 'avant-garde', 'Futurist' and 'Constructivist'. In the introduction the latter two are (correctly) used as designations of artistic movements (along with Suprematism), and the former as an arch-term for such movements. The title of the book, however, muddies the issue, since 'avant-garde' appears to be used as a synonym of 'Futurist' rather than as a descriptive term for the innovative movements of the time, embracing both Futurism and Constructivism.

These are minor points, however, in a reference book which otherwise admirably fulfils the requirements of bibliographic work for rigour and clarity. Finally, the compilers assist scholars further in their research by drawing attention to the *Census*'s relationship with other catalogues and library holdings. This first census is indeed 'a useful point of departure for further work'.

CAROL ADLAM

University of Exeter

Stephen Lovell, *The Reading Revolution: Print Culture in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras*. Studies in Russia and East Europe; in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and London, Macmillan Press, 2000. viii, 215 pp. Bibliography. Index. £42.50.

What could be more engaging to a book-lover who has followed the twists of late Soviet and post-Soviet publishing than a study of Russian bookishness? Stephen Lovell's *The Russian Reading Revolution* is such a volume. Clearly written, accessible and methodologically sophisticated, this is a first-rate contribution to the history of Russian culture.

He begins with a brief overview of pre-Revolutionary publishing and reading. The five chapters that follow concern the cultural construction of the Soviet reader in the period of Lenin and Stalin, trends in reading and publishing in the post-Soviet era, the book scene during perestroika, the changing role of the periodical press, and reading in post-Soviet Russia. He is very good on the Stalin era, when the virtual absence of a market led to a relatively homogenous print culture. During this period, he argues, two myths of reading arose. The first was that Soviet people read a lot and would read more as Communism

approached. The second was that reading would unite Soviet people, ‘instilling in them the core values of Soviet society’ (p. 21). The identification of the reader with the Soviet project led to linking *obshchestvennost’*, or civic consciousness, with books and reading. This explains the emphasis on *kul’turnost’*, so important in the official attitude toward books and learning. Paradoxically, fixing the image of reading, the authorities lost interest in actual readers and ceased to sponsor the studies that had flourished during the 1920s.

The post-Stalin era brought a modicum of pluralism. Russian culture diversified. Readers had more choices and publishers faced pressure to sell what they produced. As a result, the image of the reader became less ideological. Nevertheless, as Lovell points out, the myths remained in place. At the same time, however, Soviet researchers began again to study reading habits, and the category of the popular returned to Soviet discourse. The genres of popular culture began to reappear. Stories of adventure and crime became available. Science fiction revived. This was the period of ‘book hunger’ when publishers seemed unable to produce enough of the books in demand. This led to the bundling of unwanted books with popular ones and also to *makulatura* (pulp) series of particularly desirable books that were exchanged for unwanted books to be pulped. This period also saw the rise of a black market, as well as a hard currency market fueled partly by the sale of desirable books to foreigners. Through all this, however, as Lovell argues, the myths of reading persisted. Nevertheless, he notes a shift from a functional approach to reading to one in which there was room for pleasure and entertainment.

The chapter on perestroika is particularly informative. Lovell’s description of how the intelligentsia was marginalized as publishers chased consumer demand rings true. This period saw a shift from libraries to private purchasing, and the rise of private and cooperative publishers. At this juncture, Russia engaged more closely with international popular culture, and translations of western detective stories, adventure stories, romance and erotica flourished. Lovell also traces a shift from thick journals to thin ones, such as *Ogonek*. Oddly, this replicated a similar development in the late imperial period when popular demand was likewise a factor in publishing. The openness associated with perestroika led to a fragmentation of the reading public. Without the monopoly on publishing, censorship and the threat of physical repression, a unified homogenous culture was implausible.

In his final chapter on reading in post-Soviet Russia, Lovell traces a further differentiation of reading habits based on the shift in power from producers to consumers. He asks whether this has resulted in a ‘normalization of reading’. His answer is equivocal. Russia, he suggests, is now closer to the Western model than before, but it retains some of its previous characteristics.

My one argument is with his conclusion. ‘Culture’, he concludes, ‘—with reading one of its most important elements—was remarkably successful in

binding Soviet society together' (p. 157). Yet the most recent evidence seems to me to be all to the contrary. As soon as the physical constraints were removed, Soviet society fragmented. The disintegration of the empire marks the failure of the Bolsheviks' cultural project, not its success. Neither the Russians at the centre nor the nationalities on the periphery felt a common bond. So perhaps the reading myth had little substance, at least by the 1980s. While participating in a highly ritualised culture of performance, Soviet citizens drew their own or at least different meanings from officially approved texts. Should we be surprised? I think not. Had readers fully internalised the central unifying myths of Soviet society, the need for physical compulsion would not have been so evident. Nevertheless, Lovell has written a wonderfully interesting book.

JEFFREY BROOKS

The Johns Hopkins University

Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin!: Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000. xx, 319 pp. Index. £21.95.

This book is based on a study of the central Soviet press from the October Revolution to 1953. Its main source is *Pravda*, but several other newspapers are used extensively: *Bednota*, *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, *Krasnaia zvezda*, *Krest'ianskaia gazeta*, *Izvestiia*, *Rabochaia gazeta* and *Trud*. Not many scholars would have the patience to tackle this body of material, let alone the analytical skills to subject it to rigorous content analysis, but Brooks is up to the task. In the interests of readability he spares us most of the number-crunching, but one is impressed, and a little awe-struck, to discover that a study of every tenth editorial published in *Pravda* from 1917 to Stalin's death constituted just one of his three samples of that newspaper, and that his coverage of the central party organ alone totalled more than 2500 articles (p. xix). Quantitative methods are blended with qualitative ones in the book's main narrative, as Brooks employs discourse analysis to trace the emergence and modification of key ideological precepts.

There are potential problems with this source base for the reader as well as the researcher. Soviet newspapers of the Stalin era were concerned more than anything with eliminating ambiguity and denying space to the reader's subjectivity as they gave voice to the will of the Party; for this reason, a narrative distilled from the pages of *Pravda* will follow closely the political history already grimly familiar from the work of innumerable historians. Once in a while, Brooks falls into the trap sprung by his material and states the obvious, for example in his observation (p. 24) that '[t]he press used class war to justify repression' in the civil war period. The danger of platitude recedes substan-

tially, however, in the chapters on the war and the last years of Stalin's reign, whose political culture has been studied less closely than that of the 1920s and 1930s.

This is a book where it pays to attend to the details. Brooks dwells on points of language which, whilst unremarkable at first sight, are highly revealing of the meaning and agenda-setting implications of Soviet public discourse. He examines the incidence of unassuming words such as 'problem', 'question' and 'task' (*zadacha*) and of more obviously freighted terms such as 'fatherland'; he looks at metaphors—the Party as surrogate family, enemies as 'rabid hounds', the socialist cause as military struggle, and so on—for the light they can shed on political priorities and tendencies; he gives suggestive accounts of pronoun usage (the first person plural versus the first and third persons singular, the vanguard 'we' of the 1920s versus the ominous, pseudo-populist 'we' of the 1930s). Such painstaking linguistic analysis is combined with the study of larger themes in the Soviet press: stories of mobility and of 'honourable service'; the nature of 'public' property; the occasional incursion of 'human interest' motifs into Soviet journalism.

Close reading is knitted into a cogent interpretation of the forms and functions of Soviet public discourse. Brooks argues that, confronted with powerful evidence of popular unreceptiveness to their core message, the Bolsheviks shifted decisively in the late 1920s from 'persuasion' to 'compulsion' as the basic model of their mass communications. Correspondingly, the appeal made to 'rationality' by Marxism-Leninism gave way to the charismatic authority of the Leader. The result was a ritualized, 'performative' culture governed by an 'economy of the gift' where individual citizens were made to feel their eternal indebtedness to Comrade Stalin; yet, although agency was entirely appropriated by the party-state, its leading representatives were never tainted by responsibility for the crimes they perpetrated and the disasters over which they presided.

By concentrating on the public domain to such a large extent, Brooks is making a powerful conceptual statement. At a time when scholarship on the 1930s is increasingly turning towards the sphere of everyday practices and to 'Stalinist subjectivity', he asserts that the ideological thuggery of the central press requires serious attention. There are two main justifications for this view. First, the Soviet press did play an enormous role in framing the values and expectations of Soviet citizens, even if most of them did not believe everything they read in the papers; its effects will never be quantifiable, but were none the less real for that. This argument finds support in recent work by social historians which suggests that, although the direct impact of Stalinist ideological campaigns varied greatly, they were rarely ignored by the population. Second, in an important sense it does not matter whether Soviet citizens believed what they said or read (and in any case, we will never be in a position to

make a final judgement on this matter); the crucial thing is what they did—the extent of their participation in Stalin's performative culture. Here Brooks enters an implied polemic with researchers such as Régine Robin, who insist on the 'negotiated' quality of Soviet culture in the 1930s. Brooks also disagrees with those scholars—Robin, Boris Groys—who like to trace the genealogy of Stalinist aesthetics back to engagé Russian literature of the nineteenth century or to the Russian modernist tradition with its visions of world transformation through art. To trace such intellectual lines of descent is enticing; yet Brooks tells us that, to understand Stalinist culture, our starting point should be the specific conditions obtaining in the prewar Soviet period that rechannelled earlier cultural influences.

All this is sensible and clear-sighted, and we should all feel (non-eternally) grateful to Brooks for reminding us of the importance of the Soviet 'public sphere'. Yet it would be good to see his deep analysis of a portion of the Stalinist press broadened in a number of ways in future work in the field. First, a greater range of press material needs to be studied: evening newspapers, regional and local newspapers, and magazines and journals. It may well be that *oblast'* papers replicate the stories covered in the Moscow press, but their relationship to the central narratives of the period needs to be investigated; and magazines—*Krasnaia niva*, *Ogonek*, *Rabotnitsa*—are a very different kind of print product. Second, a study of the press could be integrated into an examination of public cultural forms more generally (radio, cinema, festivals). Third, analysis of published material should be combined with archival work. Brooks states at the outset (pp. xix–xx) that he has not looked at archives, and it would perhaps be churlish to ask this of him, given the huge amount of work he has done. Yet some of his suppositions regarding the orchestration of the Soviet public 'performance' are unverifiable without deep study of unpublished sources. Fourth, we need to know more about the reception of the Soviet performative culture, not in the sense of how much people believed in what they were doing, but rather in terms of how well they carried out—or were deemed to carry out—the roles allotted to them. One of the most terrifying things about life in the 1930s for millions of Soviet people was that the rules of social rituals kept changing and 'correct' behaviour became a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for survival and social advancement. These, however, are questions for other books; Brooks has given us enough to chew on in this one.

STEPHEN LOVELL

St John's College, Oxford

Publichnaia biblioteka glazami sovremennikov 1795–1817. Khrestomatiia. Vstupitel'nye stat'i Ts. I. Grin; sostavlenie i podgotovka tekstov Ts. I. Grin i A. M. Tret'iak. Sankt-Peterburg, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia biblioteka, 1998. 693 pp. Index.

The aim of this book is to show the Imperial Public Library in the mirror of the Russian press, especially the periodical press (supplemented by archival material, including documents from the Library's own archives). It is divided into six sections covering the periods (1) 1765–1814; (2) 1814–1843; (3) 1843–1849; (4) 1850–1859; (5) 1860–1899; (6) 1900–1917. Each section consists of selections from contemporary printed and archival sources about the Library, its staff and readers, prefaced by an introduction, written by Dr Grin, relating the documentary material to 'the circumstances of the time, the condition of the Library, its readers and staff and the dialogue between the Library and society' (p. 18). Taken together these introductions are intended to provide an outline history of the Library during the first century of its existence.

The editors are to be congratulated on providing an interesting and readable account of the origin and development of a great public educational institution. It is particularly useful to have the documentary material collected together so that it can be conveniently consulted. It comes from many various sources and some of the archival material has not been previously published. However, the way in which the book is organised, in chronological sections separated by documentary material, makes the historical account somewhat incoherent. For example, information about the growth in the numbers of readers, acquisitions, the composition of the readers as a body, etc., over the century is scattered throughout the book, and it would have been advantageous if some at least of this and other statistical material had been shown in tables.

Throughout the book the point is made, clearly and well, that the Library, having been founded by Catherine the Great in tune with the ideals of the Enlightenment, on the basis that it should be open to everyone and be dedicated to the common benefit, managed to preserve and apply these ideals even in times when the general climate of ideas at the Court and among the bureaucracy was profoundly hostile to them. Even during the period after 1848, when the censorship activities of the Committee of 2 April 1848 caused the censor A. V. Nikitenko to confide to his diary 'it is becoming impossible to write or print anything at all' (p. 204) and when the Library had as its directors consecutively two members of that Committee, Major-General D. P. Buturlin (director 1843–49) and Baron M. A. Korf (1849–61), the Library's function survived.

Buturlin inherited serious problems from the Library's first director, A. N.

Olenin—a backlog of unsorted books, an over-complicated placing system which slowed down the service to readers, slow progress in cataloguing (there was no catalogue of manuscripts and the printed books catalogue was severely delayed). When the Emperor Nicholas I made an unheralded visit to the Library in 1835 only one senior librarian was present and he hastily left to put on his uniform (it was at his dacha). When he returned the Emperor had left. The Library's honour was saved on that occasion by a junior clerk who became one of its most famous figures, the librarian, scholar and architect V. I. Sobol'shchikov. Finally the senior staff, described by a later commentator as poets and cronies, only visited the Library to collect their salaries (when they did not require the accounts clerk to bring the salaries to their apartments). Buturlin made the staff work (not always productively). He expected obedience and military discipline. He tried to get more staff, and set the staff to work on producing catalogues (by the end of his directorship 28 volumes of a systematic manuscripts catalogue had been produced, together with a catalogue of the collection of prints; other cataloguing had been accelerated). The reading room in 1848 began to open every day in the week, although artificial lighting was removed, causing it to close every day at sunset.

Korf, who, notwithstanding his views on censorship, also supported liberation of the serfs, obtained increases in staff, introduced supplementary staff (who were not employed as members of the Civil Service and had individual contracts), increased the Library's weight in society by attracting influential people as Honorary Correspondents and Members, raised money for the Library by auctioning duplicates, and supplemented the Library's meagre acquisition funds by a system of exchanges. He made a particular point of collecting books published abroad to create the collection of *Rossica*, books by foreign authors about Russia. In addition he made significant improvements to the buildings and oversaw a great increase in the production of catalogues.

The question arises why bureaucrats, who were in other respects zealous servants of a government which distrusted its people and was afraid of education, behaved in such a comparatively liberal fashion as directors of an educational institution. Even I. D. Delianov (Director of the Library, 1861–1882) did nothing to restrict entry to the Reading Room, although during his later employment as Minister of Education he signed the famous circular of 18 June 1887 designed to bar from secondary education 'children of coachmen, servants, cooks, washerwomen, small shopkeepers and persons of a similar type whose children [with rare exceptions] should certainly not be brought out of the social environment to which they belong.' It is a question to which this book gives no definite answer, although much material is supplied which the reader can use to reach his own conclusions.

The book traces the gradual appearance in the Reading Room of the Library of the *raznochintsy*, the sons and increasingly daughters of fathers with

no positions in the Table of Ranks—merchants, petty bourgeois (*meshchane*), artisans, workers and peasants, and the increasing self-confidence with which they made their needs known to the Administration of the Library and, outside the Library, to the State. Finally, from 1905 to 1917 the history of the Library is subsumed in the history of the country, and the last document is extracts from a new set of regulations for the use of the Library, renamed the Russian Public Library, issued by the Minister of Education of the Provisional Government in 1917.

GEORGE MORRIS

The British Library

Czech Republic, compilers Vlad'ka Edmondson with David Short. World Bibliographical Series, 219. Clio Press, 1999. xxv, 430 pp. Map. Indexes.

A welcome edition to the now almost encyclopaedic *World Bibliographical Series* (over 220 volumes by early 2000) is Edmondson and Short's *Czech Republic* (updating, in Edmondson's own words, no. 68, Short's *Czechoslovakia*, and slightly overlapping Lunt's *Prague*, no. 195), which, in this reviewer's opinion, does 'provide . . . an interpretation . . . that will express its culture, its place in the world, and the qualities and background that make it unique'. This is certainly a must for both the aspiring *bohémista* and indeed anyone who wishes to broaden their understanding of the Czech Republic.

A quick look at the contents pages alone will show how thorough this work has set out to be: 36 sub-divided sections (the section on Language is by David Short), containing a total of 1166 references, ranging from such human luminaries as Jan Hus, Comenius, 'TGM' and, I am glad to say, Václav Havel, to 'Flora and Fauna', an important inclusion which, I must admit, would not have crossed my urban mind. At the time of writing, Europe's latest scape-goats are the Roma: at the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the third they have become the target of the neo-Nazi skinové and the subjects of heated debate in the Czech Republic. They, too, have rightly been given a place in this work. Truly, this book is such a cornucopia that there really is something for everybody here.

In her Preface I was both charmed by and, as a librarian, in completely biased agreement with Edmondson's aside, 'Bibliography may be a dry subject to study, but the work can be fascinating and seems to lead to dealing with the nicest people' (p. xv). If approached with the same generosity of spirit, this work will certainly prove fascinating and rewarding to its users. At the outset they should be reminded that compiling a bibliography that pretends to be exhaustive is, in actuality, a Sisyphean task which could indeed provide the perfect excuse for never finishing a work! Edmondson admits that she

had to be 'ruthless' (p. xvi) in her selection in certain areas, but forestalls the potential quibbler by pointing out that her references themselves contain further bibliographic pointers, e.g. entry no. 11 alone refers to another 1,318 titles! Therefore, this book does not pretend to be a bibliographic 'Enquire Within', but rather a springboard.

'Reader, I think proper, before we proceed any farther together, to acquaint thee' (*Tom Jones*) with Short's excellent Introduction—I strongly recommend not treating it like those tiresome, sepulchral-voiced trailers at the beginning of rented videos, i.e. to be skipped at all costs. Although we no longer echo Chamberlain's shameful words of 27 September 1938, we still may not have much idea of what makes the Czech Republic distinctive. This Introduction gives us a brief but magisterial overview and really does deserve to be read carefully. I, for one, did not realise that Prague is almost on the same latitude as the Lizard Peninsular [*sic!*] in Cornwall. A trivial detail, I admit, but nonetheless illuminating. Those battling with Czech morphology might get some consolation from the following, 'The Czech National Revival . . . initially . . . was connected with a recodification of the standard ("literary") language (in fact based on an already obsolete model)' (p. xxi). Jumping ahead somewhat, I recommend anyone contemplating the learning of Czech to read Short's 'Language' contribution to the book and, if s/he knows Russian, to take a look at no. 795 (*Czech through Russian* / Charles Townsend). Anyone interested in the past, present and future of the Czech Republic would do well to think on the last paragraph of Townsend's introduction, which seems to look forward to the demise of the *malý český člověk* (see also no. 3: *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation* / Ladislav Holý).

Moving on to the main body of the work, what is immediately striking is that the reader is not presented with a dry-as-dust, interminable list of titles. Most entries have what is in effect a thoughtful mini-essay appended—all of which added together in themselves provide the kind of interpretation mentioned in the series preface: I think particularly of nos. 148 (*Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy*, edited by László Péter, Robert B. Pynsent), 190 (*The Masaryk Case: the Murder of Democracy in Czechoslovakia* / Claire Sterling), 198 (*The Life of Edvard Beneš, 1884–1948* / Zbyněk Zeman), 223 (*The Prague Spring and its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968–1970* / Kieran Williams), 405 (*Comenius: a Critical Reassessment of his Life and Work* / Daniel Murphy), 814 (*Spoken Czech in Literature* / Karen Gammelgaard), and 828 (*The Labyrinth of the Word: Truth and Representation in Czech Literature* / Alfred Thomas), among many. Entry no. 8 (*100 Pearls of Bohemia* / edited by Oldřich Holan) is delightfully amusing, while nos. 28 (*Soils of Czechoslovakia* / J. Pelíšek) and 37 (*Czechoslovak Mineral Springs* / Jan Šilar) might seem dull at first, but these are such stuff as landscapes are made on. At the time of writing I was thinking of buying a copy of no. 61 (*Prague in Black and Gold: the His-*

tory of a City / Peter Demetz)—I shall certainly do so now, having been given a context by Edmondson's appended paragraph. No. 69 (*Hradec Králové*) reminds us of one reason for the dominance of Prague in the minds of most native English-speakers, viz., the absence of guides to Czech provincial towns in English. Moreover, Edmondson is not afraid of 'telling it like it is', e.g., concerning no. 137 (*The Hussite Revolution* / Jiří Kejř), she writes, 'The book is not aimed at scholars, but is rather a coffee-table book. The English translation is lacking in smoothness' (p. 43) or, similarly, concerning no. 450 (*The End of Czechoslovakia*, edited by Jiří Musil). In general, I was pleasantly surprised to find that I actually wanted to sit and read this book, which is a not very indirect way of saying how highly I recommend it.

A final, but not critical thought: how does one or can one deal with the implications of Edmondson's truism on p. xvi, 'A contemporary bibliography inevitably becomes outdated on the day the manuscript is closed'? One increasingly important source these days is the World Wide Web, once thought of as merely ephemeral and vapid, but now a serious source of information, especially because it can be so easily and regularly updated by a conscientious webmaster. Both writers do in fact provide a small number of URLs, but the number was undoubtedly curtailed by deadlines. I shall not suggest any for fear of being considered partial, but I have found the Web an extremely important tool for keeping up with developments in and tracking down information about the Czech, Slovak and Baltic Republics. To complement this book, I intend to note down my most-used Czech URLs on the end papers.

If it is of the same high standard as Edmondson and Short's book, I now await a volume on Slovakia!

TOM STABLEFORD

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift*, Bd. III: *Die Prager Druckerei von Francisk Skorina*. Baden-Baden, Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1998. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 155.) 334 pp. Illustrations. Indexes. Bibliography. Bd. V: *Die Druckerei von Francisk Skorina in Wilna*. Baden-Baden, Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1999. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 171.) 263 pp. Illustrations. Indexes. Bibliography.

With the publication of these two volumes devoted to the presses of Skaryna, E. L. Nemirovskii's monumental union catalogue of cyrillic printed books up to 1550 nears completion. Only one volume remains to be printed—volume 6 to cover the South Slavonic presses (in the Balkans and in Venice). The two most recent volumes are based on the same principles and have the same virtues as the previous volumes, described in Aleksandr Gorfunkel's review in

Solanus, volume 12 (1998), which also recounts some of the pre-history of this catalogue.

The original publishing schedules for the *Gesamtkatalog* envisaged a strict chronology, with volume IV to combine Skaryna's Vilna imprints and the Goražde and Venice presses, which also functioned in the early 1520s. The later decision to devote each volume to one particular press or group of presses is a sound one, providing the reader with a full picture of the press and its output—a substantial historical introduction, a very full bibliography, a description of each imprint and its contents, locations of known copies (as well as notes of copies described in previous bibliographies but whose present location is not known), reproductions of all illustrations and ornaments—conveniently placed together in one volume. At the same time the compiler preserves the tradition of listing cyrillic imprints chronologically by giving each edition a running number according to its date of publication, regardless of which volume it appears in. For example, volume V has titles of South Slavonic imprints slotted between Skaryna imprints, with reference to full descriptions which will be in volume IV.

It is inevitable that small mistakes should have crept in here and there but, given the scale of the undertaking, these are surprisingly few. As an example of one tiny error, the shelfmark of the British Library's Book of Kings (no. 21.5 in volume III) should be C. 36.f.4. As always with catalogues, events overtake them as soon as they have been published; it should be noted that the *Sammelband* mentioned on p. 31 of the introduction to volume III as having been sold at Christie's in November 1996 is now in the Francis Skaryna Library in London.

All in all, the Catalogue is an indispensable work for bibliographers and historians of the book. It lays the foundation for further study of printing, texts, ornamentation and also the *bytovanie* of cyrillic books. It is interesting to note, for example, that Prague libraries have only two examples of Prague Skaryna imprints (cf. F. Sokolová, *Cyrilské a hlaholské staré tisky v českých knihovnách* (1997)), but a considerable number of imprints from South Slavonic presses.

Apart from its merits as a reference work in itself, the *Gesamtkatalog* also provides a consolidated body of material which should be used as a basis for working out the principles and parameters to be adopted in the next stage of work—the compilation of a union catalogue of cyrillic imprints 1550–1700. For this period, the number of editions will be so much greater that the principles used by E. L. Nemirovskii will need to be refined and adjusted. For example, to follow his principle of describing contents in detail with the inclusion of substantial chunks of text would probably not be feasible. It will also be necessary to work out stricter rules for the provision of uniform as well as original titles. (For a more general discussion on issues needing to be resolved, see A. V. Voznesenskii, 'O svodnykh katalogakh kirillicheskikh knig i kataloge E. L.

Nemirovskogo', forthcoming in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, t. 53.)

One of the great merits of the *Gesamtkatalog* is that its compiler has taken full advantage of greater ease of international communication both in trying wherever possible to study copies *de visu* and using existing printed catalogues in order to include the holdings of a wide range of libraries. However, there undoubtedly remain a considerable number of institutions whose holdings of cyrillica are unpublished and even unexplored. The identification and description of these is bound to be dependent on local initiatives—not even a bibliographer with the lifetime's experience, accumulated knowledge, energy and perseverance of the compiler of the present catalogue would be able to complete such a task. For holdings outside the countries of publication, given the diminishing number of experts in this field in non-Slavonic countries, the most promising way forward is undoubtedly collaborative effort between bibliographers from the countries of origin and those elsewhere. Two examples of such collaboration are the catalogue *Church Slavonic, Glagolitic and Petrine Civil Script Books in the New York Public Library* (1997) and the *Union Catalogue of Cyrillic Printed Books to 1700 in British and Irish Libraries*, now in an advanced stage of preparation.

CHRISTINE THOMAS

The British Library

Contributors

Alexander Gorfunkel is an Associate of the Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University

Mark Kulikowski is on the staff of the History Department, State University of New York, College at Oswego

Anna-Natalia Malachowskaja is a writer and artist, now based in Salzburg

Paul McQuail is a private researcher and guardian of the Adler collection

Aaron Trehub is Director of the Illinois Researcher Information Service and Executive Editor of the American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies

Elizabeth Waters is a former Senior Lecturer in Russian History at the Australian National University and now teaches on the Russian Programme at the University of Westminster

Gregory Walker is Head of Collection Development at the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Mariia Zav'ialova is an editor and researcher in women's literature in St Petersburg

M. V. Zelenov is a Senior Research Worker in the Department of History and Politics of the Volgo-Viatskaia Akademiia Gosudarstvennoi Sluzhby, Nizhny Novgorod

*The UK's largest
foreign-language bookseller*

Russian books

Library supply since 1936

A full service for Russian books

- *from* the classics of the 19th century
to the very latest novels
- *from* vocabularies
to specialist technical dictionaries
- *from* histories of the revolution
to the latest political developments

Regular catalogues of new books

Comprehensive stocks at our
Central London shop

.....

55–57 Great Marlborough Street
LONDON W1V 2AY

tel. 020 7734 2012 fax 020 7734 9272

e-mail: postmaster@grant-c.demon.co.uk

<http://www.grant-c.demon.co.uk/>

Grant & Cutler



Panorama of Russia distributes and publishes scholarly works and reference books from Russian analytical centres and academic presses about Russia and the former Soviet Union.

Books, Manuscripts, Periodicals, Maps, CD-ROMs, and Audiocassettes

The subject areas we cover are:

Book Publishing

Directories, Handbooks

Catalogues, Encyclopaedias

Bibliographies

Who Is Who, Personalities

Dictionaries

History

Religion

Environmental Issues

Social Movements

Current Affairs

Government and Politics

Military Affairs, National Security

Aerospace

Ethnic Issues

Arts, Mass Media

Philosophy

History and Theory of Literature

Economics, Business, Management

Trade Unions and Workers

Movements

Social Sciences

Law and Law Enforcement

and more...

Catalogues: We issue printed catalogues semiannually, and catalogs on specific subjects as appropriate. For information about new publications, we provide an e-mail catalog supplement every one to two weeks. If you wish to join this list or to receive our printed catalogue, send an e-mail message to orders@panrus.com.

For the most up to date information about our products, please visit our web site, www.panrus.com. It has our full book catalogue, searchable by author, title, or subject, and it also includes our periodicals catalogue. We update the site twice per month.

Hard to find books: We are happy to search for books in our subject areas.

For more information and a free catalogue contact

PANORAMA OF RUSSIA

P.O. BOX 44-1658A

SOMERVILLE, MA 02144 USA

(617)-625-3635 FAX (617)-625-3635

E-MAIL ORDERS@PANRUS.COM

<http://www.panrus.com>

INFORMATION INTEGRITY

intelligently organized *relevant* pure *accurate* current *balanced* fair



THE RUSSIAN ARCHIVES

Senior Editorial Advisor: Mark von Hagen, Ph.D. Columbia University

In an unprecedented arrangement, Primary Source Microfilm has been granted permission to microfilm collections from the largest and most closely guarded Russian archives. Their much-anticipated publication will allow researchers and students the opportunity to study an astounding historical record, that, until recently, has been largely inaccessible to scholars in the West.

Collections now available include:

- *The Intercepted Correspondence of Russian Revolutionaries from the Special Department of the Police, 1906-1917* — 175 reels
- *Soviet Genetics* — 188 reels
- *The Military Papers of Leon Trotsky* — 71 reels

FORTHCOMING

- *Papers of the White Army*
- *Institute of Economics of the Communist Academia*
- *The Papers of Prince Gregory Potemkin*

LEGENDARY DISCOVERIES

For detailed information on *The Russian Archives*, call your Primary Source Microfilm representative at +44 (0) 20 7257 2930, send an e-mail to sales@psmedia.co.uk or visit us on the Web at www.galegroup.com. In the U.S. and Canada, please send an e-mail to sales@galegroup.com.

THE RUSSIAN ARCHIVES

Primary source documents

Manuscripts and archives

Essential resources

For more information,

Please call +44 (0) 20 7257 2930

GALE GROUP

Primary Source Microfilm
an imprint of the Gale Group





Russian Press Service, Inc.

1805 Crain Street

Evanston, Illinois 60202

USA

Tel: (847) 491-9851; (847) 491-6880

Fax: (847) 491-1440; (847) 491-0163

E-Mail: rpsinc@mcs.com

<http://www.russianpress.com>

Russian Press Service, Inc., with offices in Moscow and Evanston, supplies Russian books and periodicals to libraries and academic institutions.

- We offer a comprehensive selection of new titles in history, literature, economics, social sciences, the arts and humanities. We carry books published by the new independent publishers as well as by the formerly official publishing houses. We supply books published by the Academy of Science institutes (Economy, State and Law, Sociology and so forth). We offer many books published outside Moscow and St. Petersburg.
- We supply books through blanket orders, standing orders, and approval plans. We search for titles you want. We can tell you whether the serials to which you have already subscribed have ceased publication.
- We supply almost all newspapers and journals published in Russia.
- Ask for our latest book catalogue and our current periodicals catalogue.

Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State



From the earliest years of the Revolution to the 1980s - millions of previously secret records are now available through the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State, published jointly by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace and The State Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv).

- access to thousands of reels of microfilm
- carefully organised into themed collections with clear finding aids
- the most comprehensive collection of Soviet archives available outside the CIS
- sourced from three key Soviet archives:

GARF (*The State Archive of the Russian Federation*)

RTsKhIDNI (*The former Central Party Archive, now the Russian Centre for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Most Recent History*)

TsKhSD (*The Centre for the Preservation of Contemporary Documentation*)

Using the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State, scholars can investigate the events of the period in greater detail than has ever before been possible. With the inclusion of both public and personal papers, the archives create a graphic account of the history of the Soviet people and the regimes which governed them through the greater part of the twentieth century. The collection is growing each year as new materials are added.

A joint publication on microfilm of the State Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

This major resource is now available in the UK at the British Library



For details on how to order or for more information contact:

Ian Williams, Chadwyck Healey Ltd
Barnwell Road, Cambridge CB5 8SW
Tel: 01223 271260 Fax: 01223 215513
E-mail: williams@chadwyck.co.uk



CHADWYCK HEALEY

Distributed by Chadwyck Healey



Наше Наследие

[*Our Heritage*]

on microfiche

Norman Ross Publishing is proud to be working in partnership with Russia's most prestigious and respected cultural journal of the past decade, *Nashe Nasledie* (Our Heritage). We have preserved on microfiche the entire backfile of this innovative and much sought after journal, making its exclusive articles and highly respected research available to a much wider public than ever before.

Nashe Nasledie is the premier review of all aspects of Russia's rich cultural heritage and has been a pioneer publication of research on Russian history, architecture, the fine arts in Russia, and the personalities behind the legacy. We are pleased to make this fine review available as a resource to students, historians, and professors alike, and to assemble the complete backfile of this important record, which will also be kept up to date in the future.

Complete backfile, 1988-1999, 130 mf \$1,000
(Individual years available.)

NORMAN ROSS PUBLISHING INC.

330 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019 USA

212/765-8200 • 800/648-8850 • FAX: 212/765-2393 • e-mail: info@nross.com

European office (Paris):

33(0)1-45-39-32-81 • [ych.denis@Wanadoo.fr](mailto:y.ch.denis@Wanadoo.fr)

<http://www.nross.com>

NORMAN ROSS PUBLISHING INC.

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

I z v e s t i i a
on 35 mm microfilm

and 1,000 other newspapers

Sole authorized source.
Place your 2000 subscriptions now!
Order direct and save.

Subscription: \$230 per year
Backfile available (1917-1999)

For details, please contact:

NORMAN ROSS PUBLISHING INC.

330 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019

212/765-8200 • 800/648-8850 • fax: 212/765-2393 • info@nross.com

European office (Paris):

33(0)1-45-39-32-81 • [ych.denis@Wanadoo.fr](mailto:y.ch.denis@Wanadoo.fr)

visit our home page: <http://www.nross.com>

NORMAN ROSS PUBLISHING INC.

EXHIBITION CATALOGS OF THE HERMITAGE

from The Library of the State Hermitage Museum,
St. Petersburg

This collection traces in chronological order the exhibition history of one of the great museums of the world. It also highlights the growth of the Hermitage's own collections during the 20th century, the museum's links with foreign museums, and the serious work that went into producing these outstanding exhibition catalogs and guides.

The catalog collection covers the period immediately following the Revolution through the 1970s, and includes:

- exhibition catalogs covering the permanent collections of the Hermitage.
- guides and catalogs covering collections on loan from other institutions.
- guides to exhibitions that took place in other Russian museums in collaboration with the Hermitage, or exhibitions that took place abroad in cooperation with the Hermitage.

Students and researchers in Russian history and art history will find this collection to be an enormously valuable reference tool.

Complete collection, 371 microfiche

Special pre-publication price before 9/30/00: \$2000 (\$2500 after 10/1/00)

NORMAN ROSS PUBLISHING INC.

330 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019

212/765-8200 • 800/648-8850 • fax: 212/765-2393 • info@nross.com

European office (Paris):

33(0)1-45-39-32-81 • [ych.denis@Wanadoo.fr](mailto:y.ch.denis@Wanadoo.fr)

visit our home page: <http://www.nross.com>

INTERESTED IN RUSSIAN REGIONS?

Check out this important collection of major Russian regional newspapers on microfilm. The complete sets covering 1991-1995 are available immediately. Standing orders are welcome.

- | | |
|---|---|
| ➤ Buriatiia (Buriatiia) | ➤ Oblastnaia gazeta (Ural) |
| ➤ Groznenskii rabochii (Chechnya) | ➤ Respublika Tatarstan (Povolzh'e) |
| ➤ Dagestanskaia pravda (Dagestan) | ➤ Severnyi kur'er (Kareliia) |
| ➤ Iakutiia (Respublika Sakha) | ➤ Severnaia Osetiia (Severnyi Kavkaz) |
| ➤ Iuzhnyi Ural (Ural) | ➤ Sovetskaia Sibir' (Sibir') |
| ➤ Kabardino-Balkarskaia pravda
(Severnyi Kavkaz) | ➤ Tikhookeanskaia zvezda (Daln'nii
Vostok) |
| ➤ Krasnyi Sever (Vologda) | ➤ Vechernii Cheliabinsk (Ural) |
| ➤ Nizhegorodskie novosti
(Nizhnii Novgorod) | ➤ Volgogradskaia pravda (Povolzh'e) |

Price per title: \$250/year

Buy five-year collection sets and save:

Any 4 titles, 1991-1995: \$4,000

Any 8 titles, 1991-1995: \$8,000

Entire collection, 1991-1995: \$16,000

For more information, please contact:

East View Publications

3020 Harbor Lane North, Minneapolis, MN 55447 USA

Tel: (763) 550-0961 Fax: (763) 559-2931

E-mail: micro@eastview.com

All the Necessary Tools To Support Your Research

- ✧ Subscription to over 5000 central and regional periodicals
- ✧ Title research and document delivery
- ✧ The largest online catalogue of Russian/NIS books
- ✧ New title notification services for books and serials
- ✧ Full-text databases of Russian newspapers, military, parliamentary and social sciences publications
- ✧ English-language journals on major topics of Russian public policy

LIBRARY SERVICES

- Blanket orders/approval plans
- Preservation programs
- Dispatch data/EDI
- Digitization projects
- and much more...

East View Publications, Inc.

Global Provider of Information
*from **RUSSIA & NIS***

3020 Harbor Lane North
Minneapolis, MN 55447, USA
Tel: (763) 550-0961
Fax: (763) 559-2931
E-mail: eastview@eastview.com

Interested?
Check us out at:
www.eastview.com



ONLINE DATABASES FROM RUSSIA

Need to stay on top of RUSSIAN information?
Need to move your print collections to digital access?

*Let EAST VIEW help you find the information you need
with the **CLICK OF A BUTTON.***

Universal Database™ of Russian Newspapers

Access the full text of over 35 of Russia's most influential newspapers on the day of publication. Over 1,000 articles added daily. Contains both Russian and English language papers.

Universal Database™ of Parliamentary Publications

Conduct in-depth research on Russia's governmental affairs and political developments. Provides complete stenographic records of parliamentary hearings, draft laws, vote results, official resolutions, decrees and papers of record.

Universal Database™ of Military and Security Periodicals

Research developments in the Russian military at the national and regional levels. Contains all major Ministry of Defense periodicals, as well as publications from the ten regional military districts, five fleets and four border regions.

Universal Database™ of the Social Sciences and Humanities

Utilize this database to research the leading monthly academic journals from Russia. Access the latest information available in the social sciences, including history, sociology, economics and linguistics. Read analysis of the latest literary and cultural trends.

Database Features Include:

- *Same-day newspaper updates*
- *Cross-title search functions*
- *User-friendly interfaces for individual and library use*
- *Extensive archives, with some titles dating back to 1992*

EAST VIEW PUBLICATIONS, INC.

3020 Harbor Lane North

Minneapolis, MN 55447, USA

Tel: (763) 550-0961 Fax: (763) 559-2931

E-mail: udb@eastview.com

URL: online.eastview.com

*Contact East View for a free one-week trial to any of the online Universal Databases.
Ask for our special package deals for print, digital full-image and microform co-subscriptions.*

Essential Russian Resources

Three critical English-language resources from Russia which no library can afford to overlook!

These publications offer immediate insight into the influential and too-often inaccessible worlds of Russian foreign policy, military strategy and social sciences scholarship.

International Affairs

The voice of Russia's Foreign Ministry. Offers unique, first-hand analysis of major foreign policy issues facing Russia and NIS. Available in print, microform and online. ISSN 0130-9641. 6/yr. Subscription: Individuals \$85; Institutions \$265.

Military Thought

Leading theoretical journal of Russia's Ministry of Defence. Provides critical insight into current trends in Russian military doctrine and planning. Available in print, microform and online. ISSN 0869-5636. 6/yr. Subscription: Individuals \$79; Institutions \$315.

Social Sciences

Indispensable overview of contemporary Russian scholarship in the social sciences. Selected works from over 25 Russian-language journals of Russian Academy of Sciences. Available in print and online. ISSN 0134-5486. 4/yr. Subscription: Individuals \$65; Institutions \$215.

To order, please contact:

**East View
Publications, Inc.**

3020 Harbor Lane North
Minneapolis, MN 55447 USA
tel: + 1(763) 550-0961
fax: + 1(763) 559-2931
e-mail: eastview@eastview.com

Victor Kamkin Inc

Your source for Russia for over 46 years

Books • Periodicals • Videos • Music • Maps

From academic library to individual readers, Kamkin has been supplying the latest in Russian fiction and non-fiction at the best prices for almost 5 decades.

We offer a free monthly catalog of new books and a periodicals catalog listing over 2000 titles from Russia and the CIS.

NEW!! Kamkin's on-line bookstore

We have over 100,000 titles in stock and ready to ship!
From classic literature, to out-of-print academic studies,
you are sure to find what you are looking for.

- Shop 24 hours on our secure web site
- Discover the latest specials
- Set up your own profile: create your own address book for sending gifts to friends and family
- Sign up for our notification service.
The web bookstore will let you know when new titles are added in your area!
- We accept all major credit cards
- Choose your shipping! From surface mail to express!



Victor Kamkin, Inc.

4956 Boiling Brook Parkway

Rockville MD 20852 USA

Tel: 301-881-5973

Fax: 301-881-1637

E-mail: Kamkin@Kamkin.com

On the web: www.kamkin.com





Printed by
Quorn Litho
Loughborough, Leicestershire